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EDITORIAL

The days of Asian subjection are ending. The peoples of long-subjected countries of the great continent of Asia are struggling free of the foreign-manufactured chains that have bound them for so long. The peoples of the East are asserting their right to freedom. The withdrawal of the British occupation of India by the Labour Government will forge the first link in the chain of free and independent Asian countries which have, for so many years, been denied the right to determine their own destinies.

But nationalism by itself is a mixed blessing. It was from a narrow nationalism that fascism developed to plunge the world into the recently ended war. A nationalism which places the interest of the people of one particular country above that of humanity as a whole, which develops the illusion that there is some mystical advantage in being born in one corner of the earth's surface rather than another, can be extremely dangerous.

Today, more than ever, the need exists for the realisation that the world is one unity, that the future happiness and prosperity of mankind depend on the free association and co-operation of free peoples, politically, economically, socially and culturally. It is this realisation alone that can save our war-rent, war-weary world from the horror of another catastrophe.

It had been hoped — it is still hoped — that the United Nations Association would succeed where the League of Nations failed; that the experience of the Second World War would create the understanding that in internationalism alone lies the future security of mankind. But the development of "spheres of influence", the never-ending disputes, the atmosphere of tension and distrust have continued in spite of, and even within, the United Nations organisation itself. Nationalism strives to utilise an international organisation for its own ends.

In the East, however, as the Asian peoples move towards freedom from imperial rule — today in India, Indonesia, Indochina; tomorrow

in Burma and Malaya — in spite, or perhaps because of, the nature of their experiences and struggle, the feeling grows that nationalism is not enough. The translation of this feeling into co-operative action can free us all from the unspeakable calamity of atomic warfare.

In our last issue Cedric Dover wrote of the tendency towards Asian federation, and expressed the belief that this would be the first development towards a World Federation of Mankind. Similar ideas inspire the minds of some of India's foremost public figures. Speaking at the opening of the Asian Relations Conference at Delhi recently, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

"We have arrived at a stage in human affairs when the ideal of that 'one world' and some kind of World Federation seems to be essential, though there are many dangers and obstacles in the way. We should work for that ideal and not for any grouping which comes in the way of this larger world group. 'We therefore support the United Nations' structure which is painfully emerging from its infancy. But in order to have 'one world' we must also in Asia think of the countries of Asia co-operating together for that larger ideal.

"Asia stretches her hand out in friendship to Europe and America as well as to our suffering brethren in Africa."

The Asian Relations Conference at which delegates of 23 states met, representing half the population of the world, may well mark the beginning of a new and more vital impulse toward world unity. We have not yet received full reports of this conference, and we shall hope to deal with its implications at greater length in our next issue. But what can be stated is that it represented the will of the people of Asia towards collaboration, not only in the struggle for independence in which many Asian countries are still involved, but in the economic problems of agriculture, industrial-

sation, production and distribution. Represented in the delegations were economists, scientists, scholars and philosophers. For the conference was not primarily concerned with political questions, but with the economic and social factors of daily life.

The peoples of Asia are concerned not only with attaining their independence from imperialism, but also with constructing a social life which will confer the greatest possible benefits on the mass of the people. Political emancipation from foreign domination is linked with the desire for social emancipation from the economic misery which has characterised the life of the Asian peoples.

Pandit Nehru's words, quoted above, show a keen realisation of the broader implications of the Conference and the movement which has produced it. This was no meeting of a movement directed against Europe and America. East and West are necessary one to the other. But the relationship of the future must be that of the partnership of equals, not that of slave and master. In Nehru's own words:

"We propose to stand on our own feet and to co-operate with all others who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not intend to be the playthings of others . . . the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for peace."

Our Contributors

RONALD DUNCAN. Born 1914 at Salisbury, Rhodesia. Educated in England, Switzerland and Cambridge. Visited Gandhi at Wardha in 1936. Married and has two children. Farms in Devon. Works include: "This Way to the Tomb;" "Journal of a Husbandman;" "The Dull Asses Hoof;" the libretto of Benjamin Britten's opera "The Rape of Lucretia", and has adapted Jean Cocteau's play "The Eagle has Two Heads."

WILLIAM GALLACHER. Communist M.P. for West Fife since 1935. Foundation member of the Communist Party and member of the present executive committee. Works include: "Revolt on the Clyde;" "Marxism and the Working Class;" "Workers' Democracy;" "Anti-semitism—What it Means to You."

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE M.A. Distinguished Christian pacifist whose influence on the late William Temple was acknowledged by the Archbishop shortly before his death in a foreword contributed to Mr. Hobhouse's "Christ and our Enemies." Stephen Hobhouse edited "The Mystical Writings of William Law;" "English Prisons Today" and — with Sir. S. Radhakrishnan — the 70th birthday volume "Mahatma Gandhi: Essays and Appreciations" (1939).

THE VERY REV. DR. W. R. INGE. D.D.; F.B.A.; C.V.O.; K.C.V.O. Born 1860 at Crayke, Yorkshire. Professor of

Divinity and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, 1907-11; Dean of St. Pauls 1911-34; President of the Classical Association, 1934, etc. Works include: "Personal Religion and the life of Devotion;" "Lay Thoughts of a Dean;" "God and the Astronomers;" "A Rustic Moralist;" "A Pacifist in Trouble;" "The Fall of the Idols;" "Talks in a Free Country."

H. S. L. POLAK. Has devoted more than 40 years to the affairs of Indians overseas. From 1904-14 was the most intimate colleague of Mr. Gandhi in South Africa, to whom he was professionally attached as a solicitor, whose paper, "Indian Opinion", he edited, and whom he succeeded as adviser to the Indian community. He was partly responsible, from 1909-17, for informing the Indian government and public of the disabilities of Indians in South and East Africa and for bringing to an end indentured emigration to Natal in 1911 and the indenture system generally in 1920.

PAUL TABORI. Novelist, journalist, script writer and broadcaster. Was born in Hungary and settled in London ten years ago. Has been film critic of the "Daily Mail," assistant Editor of "World Review," special correspondent of P.A. — Reuter Features. For the last four years has been scriptwriter for Sir Alexander Korda. His books, translated into nine languages, include: "Epitaph for Europe;" "Bricks upon Dust;" "Two Forests", and "They Came to London."

INDIANS OVERSEAS AND SOUTH AFRICA

Whilst Indian emigration is no new thing in India's history, in its present phases it is mainly the consequence of the indentured labour system, which resulted from the industrial depression in many parts of the British Empire, following upon the abolition of slavery in 1833. But besides the labourers, mostly originating in South India and the Hindi-speaking areas of the United Provinces and Bihar, there were also a number of merchants, traders, and professional men, who migrated mostly from Gujarat and Sind. These Indian communities are to be found mainly in Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Mauritius, Fiji, East Africa, South Africa, Trinidad, and British Guiana, and some Indians are also to be found in Jamaica, British Columbia, Suriname, French Guiana, Reunion, Gibraltar and many other places. Today, Indians overseas number approximately four millions, mostly Colonial-born. The Indian communities are frequently multilingual. When Mr. Gandhi first published "**Indian Opinion**" in Natal, in 1904, it appeared in four languages — English, Gujarati, Hindi, and Tamil. Their problems vary according to the economic and political conditions locally prevalent.

Indentured Labour

It was at the urgent request of the Natal Government, under pressure from the European colonists facing ruin to their sugar-plantations because of the dearth of reliable native African labour, that the British and Indian Governments were prevailed upon, in 1860, to authorise indentured labour emigration to South Africa. Already, in 1843, when Natal was annexed, Sir George Napier, the Governor of the Cape Colony, had proclaimed that "there shall not be in the eye of the Law any distinction or disqualification whatever founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language or creed, but the protection of the Law in letter and in substance shall be extended impartially to all alike".

But a few years later complaints of ill-treatment and unsatisfactory conditions of the emigrants reached India, and emigration ceased for a time. It was resumed in 1874, at the instance of the Natal Government and colonists, only after assurances had been given of better economic conditions for the emigrants who wished to settle after the expiry of their indentures. Another integral part of the agreement between the Natal and Indian Governments was that the labourers should enjoy equality

H. S. L. Polak

of status after the period of indenture and that they should live under the ordinary law of the land and not be subjected to discriminatory legislation of any kind. The Government of India expressly declared to the Natal Government: "We cannot permit emigration to be resumed until we are satisfied that the Colonial authorities are awake to their duty towards Indian immigrants and that effective measures have been taken to ensure to that class of Her Majesty's subjects full protection in Natal." Lord Salisbury, in a despatch of 1875, laid down the principle that "Indian settlers will be, in all respects, free men, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Colonies."

It was under such assurances as these that indentured emigration to South Africa continued, until 1911, when Lord Minto's Indian Government ordered that recruitment for Natal should cease, because of the continued breach of earlier undertakings by the South African authorities. "Free Indian" immigration into the Union virtually ended in 1913, as a result of the understanding between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts, and confirmed by the Government of India. The expectation of the Indian community that, with the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1913, the fears of

the White population would be allayed was, as he himself confirmed at the Imperial War Conference in 1917, shared by General Smuts.

The total South African Indian population numbers about 250,000, nine-tenths of whom are confined to Natal because of the immigration restrictions of the other Provinces of the Union. About 85 per cent. of these Indians are South African-born, but they are denied equal citizenship rights and are legally segregated because of their racial origin. It will be noted, too, when account is taken of the complaints against the size and growth of the Indian population, that the Europeans number about 2½ millions, the Africans about 8 millions, and other non-white communities about ¼ million. Even in Natal, the Europeans outnumber the Indians, who form one-tenth of the total population of the Province.

Lord Curzon

It should be recalled that, but for the foresight of Lord Curzon's Government, in 1904-5, the South African Indian population might well have been much larger. Because of unsatisfactory labour conditions in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony after the Boer War, the new Colonial administrations pressed the Government of India to permit the recruitment of Indian Labourers for the construction of Government railways. The latter refused to do so, on the ground that the South African authorities would not accept the conditions laid down by the Government of India (supported by the Colonial Office) for the better treatment of "free Indians". Lord Curzon's attitude then was reflected by statements made in Parliament, from 1897 onwards, by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Roberts, Lord Ampthill, Lord Elgin, Lord Landsdowne, Lord Morley, and many other distinguished statesmen.

The present Indo-South African dispute arises largely out of the fear of the Natal Europeans that they will be outnumbered and economically displaced by the Indians. It is of interest, therefore, to recall Lord Curzon's assessment of the situation in the House of Lords, in 1908, upon his retirement from the Viceroyalty. "As regards South Africa, the Indian . . . sees that the Coolie or the artisan is invited and even encouraged by our Government to emigrate from India. We send him to a Colony which he enriches by his labour,

and then society there appears to turn round upon him as if he were a pariah dog. He is penalised there, not for his vices, but for his virtues. It is because he is a sober, industrious, frugal, and saving man that he is such a formidable danger in the situation . . . He has fought for the British Empire in South Africa, and . . . it was largely owing to his efforts that Natal was saved . . . He claims the full rights of citizenship in the British Empire. I do not think it is for us to blame him for that. We have taught it him. We have inspired him with these ideas." Sir Benjamin Robertson, in his statement before the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission, in 1914, commented in similar terms.

In 1927, under the Capetown Agreement between the Union and Indian Governments, the former undertook (but did very little to fulfil their pledge) to help in every way the Indian community to advance its standards of life to the European level, and the Indian leaders gladly undertook to encourage their people to do so—an undertaking that has been fulfilled to the extent permitted by provincial and municipal prejudice and neglect. Because of this, certain Indians, cramped in the Indian urban area of Durban, and desiring to improve their living conditions, have purchased a few plots in vacated neighbouring European areas from willing European sellers, for residential and investment purposes. They are now charged with a desire to invade the European areas with the intent of driving out the European residents. The Indians apparently can do no right in the eyes of those who, as Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Union, has described them, are imbued with the "herrenvolk" mentality.

Ghetto

Mr. Hofmeyr said, in 1945:—"That is a special feature of this problem—its international aspect. It is an embarrassing feature to us. . . . The 1927 Agreement admitted the stake of the Government of India in what is primarily our domestic problem, but it also pointed the way along which the removal of that stake can be secured . . . But we have still a great deal to do before we can say to India—we have done what in the 1927 Agreement we said we would do—your interest in

RELIGION AND AGRICULTURE

I am a farmer and not a theologian. It is much easier to farm well than to write sensibly about theology. For it is comparatively easy to acquire the correct tools of husbandry, to learn to use them and to keep them sharp. But the tools of theology are words and our words are broken with misuse and almost too blunt to sharpen

How often has one heard a religious argument hotly contested, with both disputants holding the identical opinion, only terminology separating them. There was a time in the dark middle ages, when there were fewer literate people but more educated people; when thought moved within the discipline and limits of logic and a word travelled only in its strict orbit of definition. But today, when everybody can read and anybody can write, our language has deteriorated and has now a utility meaning, and serves as our furniture does, for a table one side up and a chair upside down. Indeed words are becoming so vague and ambiguous in their meaning that the very processes of thought are hindered and clogged.

Pick up any piece of contemporary writing and you will find the author using the word "progress" when he may mean "salvation", or the word "natural" when he means "divine." And also one will come across references to a "Christian attitude" as being synonymous with a "religious attitude." The former may be contained in the latter, but it does not follow that the two are the one and the same thing. Elementary logic as this may be, it does not seem generally appreciated. For it is possible that there might be a "religious revival" and yet this, not be a Christian revival. The difference is important. But before we shall be able to mark that difference we must clarify our terminology.

Terminology

Between thought and reality is the medium of perception. And between perception and thought is the image, the word. A man born blind can think, but a man without words has no currency and cannot even trade with himself in his own ideas. When the currency of a nation is debased, trade ceases, when the

language becomes debased, thought does not cease, worse than that, it becomes flabby. Perhaps if our theological terminology was clarified, many agnostics would find that they were in truth catholics, and many a theologian find that they were heathen.

Slackness in terminology must necessarily mean slackness in morality. Our words are so loose that were Moses to attempt now to give us the Law, he would find his stone insufficient and have to run to a pamphlet. There was a time when the Church defined the difference between "the just charge", a reasonable return

Ronald Duncan

for a risk, and a "usurious charge," a fixed return without risk. In those barbaric days he who practised usury had his goods confiscated from him. And he who bought the growing corn was treated in a similar fashion. Both offences, as many others, were not only offences against the law of the state, but sins against the Law of the Church. The majority of men are incapable of abstract thought, philosophical conceptions do not concern them; from religion they seek not an interpretation of the universe but a handrail up the escalator of morality. We have trodden over our fences, broken down our definitions, like pigs we tread our own corn and destroy our own handicraft. Let us hope that St. Peter keeps a good dictionary by him else even the devil would be able to argue his way into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Why is it that farmers, sailors and miners are, generally speaking, more religious (I did not say Christian) than say, diplomats, civil servants and shopkeepers? On the sea I have seen a deck swabber kneel with sincerity. And in a mining village where I once worked, I noticed that the Bible was as frequently thumbed as the Journal of Racing Form. Is the answer that the mining village and boat and rural hamlet are so isolated that superstitions still persist in them, to be broken down with the improvements of transport till these communities see the half light of reason; and become like the urban populations, full converts to doubt? Or is it

that the farmer, miner and sailor maintain some sort of religious attitude to life because they live within the fear of nature, knowing its dimensions and consequently realising their personal insecurity, see a necessity for prayer? I think the latter is true. To throw seed is an act of faith, the harvest is never certain. No man can grow corn and not pray—even if it only for dry weather in which to carry it. Perhaps we as a nation have partially lost our habit of prayer because our food is so unrelated to the whim of God. We talk of food supply in terms of import and foreign exchange not the grace of God.

Religious Attitude

It is impossible to cross an ocean and know the insecurity of the elements without finding a faith as necessary as a lifeboat. Perhaps modern transport will remove this incentive; for security of passage removes the need for prayer. I have seen a sweating miner mumble an inarticulate prayer at the coal face when the earth rumbles above and settles down whilst pit-props "talk" from the strain. But does it matter so much that his prayer is inarticulate? Is not work also a form of prayer. I have often watched a shepherd as he helped the ewes to lamb on a cold night. In a sense (I have already warned you that our terms are slack) this man is participating in a sacrament, the renewal of life. But the shepherd tells me "he has not time for the Church and that he is no Christian." Yet in his work he shows Christian values. Indeed no man can farm well unless he observes these virtues, patience with stock, humility before the elements, and care of the minutest blade of grass. It is quite impossible to farm without a religious attitude. But does this make a farmer a Christian? Is not a farmer a pantheist? Or is this only a question of terminology?

The churches are empty, but it is not because the people do not believe in Christ's teaching, it is often that they do not know that they do believe. The result is that many people have manufactured a private theology—which generally includes the Sermon on the Mount, rejects the Resurrection and a belief in heaven and hell and fumbles towards an inarticulate social morality. It is too easy to ridicule such efforts and, besides, we are all guilty of making these craven images of home-made religious thought. Who is to be blamed, the people or

the theologians? Man may be naturally a religious animal; but he is not a natural philosopher. Do not blame the sheep if they stray, it is their nature to do so, blame the shepherd for not keeping his fences up.

Transmigration of the Soul

The reasons why the pews are empty in my own village church are, I think, as follows: Firstly, people believe in an omnipotent force but not in an omnipotent being. The Church naturally refers to the Deity as a person. This offends their scientific susceptibilities. The people would not be alarmed if the omnipotent were referred to as a formula. I notice that they believe in the "force of nature." I have heard them refer to the "balance of nature," and even some talk of "the judgment of nature;" and "nature, all wise." But even so they will not admit personality. Indeed their God is blind but paradoxically sees all; their God is deaf yet will answer their prayer.

But the most important change in the beliefs during the last century is in the belief of life after death. Only 50 years ago the villagers believed that the soul of everybody buried in the little churchyard went either to heaven or hell. Those who were left said the dead had "passed on", death was to them a journey with a vague destination; but, never the less, a journey. Then, grief was not loss and permanent sorrow: it was a temporary parting. The vicar could console, today it is a different matter and a pathetic sight to see the bereaved wife with a telegram in her hand, and the vicar standing by not knowing what to say. And the woman looks at him as if she is reproaching him, for she feels that the church should have defended the age-long belief in heaven and hell with greater tenacity; for the woman knows that then there was somewhere to look for consolation. But today I have often heard villagers say that when they died they would "just as soon be put as manure at the bottom of the old apple tree, as carried up that dreadful steep hill to the churchyard." This shows, I think that they believe in a form of continuity—no country person could do otherwise—but that they see the immortality of the flesh as it is absorbed in the soil and transmuted into the tree; they believe, too, that their actions in life by having a widening and endless circle of effects, like a stone thrown into a pond, give them a certain kind of spiritual immortality.

But they do not believe in the immortality, the persistence of the personality, ego.

Thirdly, they cannot reconcile Genesis with the "Readers' Digest" notes on anthropology. I know of one old man who had attended the local church regularly for sixty years! Last year he stopped going: "because I have reckoned it out that if Adam's son could find a wife there must have been other folk about."

Meditation

It may well be that these intellectual difficulties are naive, nevertheless these are the questions which will have to be answered satisfactorily before the pews are filled again. The tendency to put faith in science is partially due to the Church abandoning most of its liturgical force and seeking to turn the service into a one sided debating society. When the service was a ritual, symbolism was unquestioned. Besides which, both liturgy and ritual are necessities.

And yet in spite of this there is no difference between country people and the church, it is rather a matter of indifference, the apathy coming from prolonged bewilderment. The villager may no longer go to church to pray, yet he still knows that if his turnips are to grow they must be thinned, and, in a sense, to hoe is to pray. It is a different method of meditation, but it is meditation. And to serve nature is perhaps to worship God.

Interdependence

It has been said against my thesis that farming is a religious discipline, that it is a case of doing the right thing for the wrong reason; in other words, it has been suggested that the careful husbandman tending the actual lamb of God with such patience and care, does so, not as a practical act of worship, but as the necessary method to obtain profit. Perhaps it is possible to answer this objection. Obviously the man who merely mines his land, cashes its fertility and leaves the land poorer than when he acquired it, has offended against God, man and/or nature. But he who perceives that the whole is in any part, sees the magnificent in the insignificant, observes the unending cycle's interdependence, and then, with humility, works within this pattern, keeping his fields fertile, he lives a religious life. That he gets a profit for

such work is quite irrelevant. Obviously, there is a moral difference between the man who plants a dozen oak trees for his great grandson's use and the man who lives by consuming the wood pulp and never plants a sapling. We cannot all be farmers or foresters but the same principle can operate. It is perhaps a matter of perspective, a realisation that our generation are trustees for the unborn and, as it were, chaff in the way of the wind.

Discipline

The townsman regards farming as an haphazard occupation. It is not. It is discipline within itself. Men effect little change to their farms, but their farm moulds, bends and alters them completely. One either submits to this weight of influence from the farm, or one goes out—fails. Sometimes I think of myself as a servant of my own farm whose inarticulate tyranny is unrelenting. When I look back at the quarrels I have had with my farm and the reforms and changes I was going to effect, I see that it is the farm which has had its way, and I who have had to submit to it. I have indeed been allowed little choice by my stern old acres. Even the cropping, the kind of stock, has been taken out of my hands. I may say that I have changed my mind, but the reality is that the farm has changed it for me. I promised myself that I would keep no maggoty ewes and no yapping hound pursuing its noisy way down the overgrown lanes of my brain; but my farm knew otherwise. The cliff-lands have had to be ploughed and nothing will clean them of couchgrass, but root crops, and the only way this light, dry land will get back to clover is to creep there under the feet of a flock of sheep. The farm knew this. The man here before me found the same thing; not for nothing has a sheep-hut been erected on the cliffs, built out of pebbles dragged up from the beach, and my farm now grins up its sooty sleeve as it listens to me informing my friends that I have suddenly and inexplicably taken a fancy to keep a sheep dog. I could, indeed, drive the reader into old age as I told of similar instances of the pressure from the land exerted on to its servant, the master. I take my orders from the weather and the land's necessity leads me to any job. Who has not tended a bunch of calves or a herd of cows for a single winter without knowing at the end who was the servant and who the master? Indeed I should

not be surprised were I to find that my Arab mare had left a tip in her manger. Resistance to this and this is a tyranny; acceptance of this and this is a discipline.

Civilisation

I suspect that the function of intelligence is the perception of reality. This may seem platitudinous until one places it against our mental habit of forming ideas from assumed data. It is too easy to play with thought unrelated to things: for as the former is elastic, so is the latter rigid. Each thing, whether it is a cow or a cabbage has its own precise nature, its little rigid reality of fact; it is no use having ideas about a cabbage on the dreamy supposition that a cabbage is not a feeding ground for the caterpillar; nor is it profitable to have ideas about cows which do not take into account that they will trample one's neighbour's corn if they get the chance, quite irrespective of whether one likes the neighbour or not.

Yet obvious as all this may appear, it has not stopped, hindered or prevented us from galloping down the more gaudy thoroughfares of thought, shouting slogans, and advice to many, none of which was, or is, related to man's fixed limits, his reality, nature. Civilisation is as narrow as the cutting edge of a well-sharpened razor, and on each side is the darkness of chaos. Only well defined sign-posts kept man on this narrowness of restraint, for his nature impels him back to his first dark chaos, to the oblivion of blood and the womb's snug nothingness. Yet for all that, which to any purblind newt is obvious, our bright boys from Rousseau to Calvin, and from Luther to Lawrence, have swung their hatchet at the signposts, and to their surprise and dismay observed mankind lurch back towards the abyss.

Thought and Action

Poor man has been urged to atheism after his pathetic and constant effort to erect his little gods, gods which he needs, for to worship is his nature. He has been told to love freely when fixed love's his treasure. Even his natural habit of pulling up the weeds and turning the soil open, building a house there and calling that place his, has been put against him,

so that he is now half-persuaded that property is evil and ashamed of his effort that went to its making. And hard as it is to believe, there are those that have urged him away from his family pattern and the ties that go with it and tether him safely. All of which is thought woven out of the brain's own navel, no relation to the thing, its limit, its nature. And it is against this that the farm imposes its intellectual discipline. In one field I have three inches of soil, in another five inches: these are facts and I must think accordingly. Thought which does not impel one to action is not worth the skin of a rotten onion.

Faith and Fear

Is faith compatible with Sulphate of Ammonia? I was wondering this the other day as I listened to a complaint that very few people attended last year's Harvest Festival. Only forty years ago a good harvest meant God's grace and a bad harvest was a sign of divine displeasure, a precise if unjust punishment. And now though the altar here is still laden with the coastguard's obese pumpkin, the school-teacher's blackberries and lovely sheaves of wheat, the pews themselves are empty, for the festival is dead—it has become a ceremony. No more God's grace, mercy or bounty, the good harvest is due to Imperial Chemical Industries and "that extra bag of super I sowed on me barley."

The farmer is, of course, the last person to fall for the dull dogma of Huxley's orthodoxy and the dreary religion of cause and effect. For even today, there is much more on a farm which cannot be explained than that which will fit into the scientific attitude. Yet the pews are empty. Modern implements have made harvesting so secure that people are becoming less grateful to see the carts and waggons laden and the stacks rising. For there to be faith there must first be fear, not just a temporary fear like the silence of the flying bomb, but a constant insecurity. Sailors and farmers are the last to lose such fears and their faith and when they do, what is there in the whole wide world would replace it?

Several years ago I wondered whether or not the conception of fertility might be the base from which a reasonable myth could be made

or used to re-enliven a waning myth. I argued that most religions have grown out of some idea of fertility and that here was something undying, and under the palm of the hand. But is it so? The mysticism of fertility is going also with a bag of sulphate of ammonia and the tricks of artificial insemination. Man now fears nothing but himself. It follows, therefore that he kneels to nothing but himself or his own scientific image.

Spiritual Dilemma

There is a desperate need for insecurity. But our whole effort is now busy planning every kind of security; and our English National Socialism is even committed to make us secure from cradle to grave. It is not enough that we shall always suffer under the insecurity of our own nature. We need the fear of divine wrath, the insecurity of nature and the bad harvest. For if we are to live believing in no other power than ourselves we shall become mean, petty little ants all treading on each others toes, incapable of greatness either in love or faith—and leaving charity to a State Department.

I do not think science itself is to be blamed for this spiritual dilemma. The scientific method has uncovered a little fact and a great deal of ignorance. Every day the physicist learns that he knows less than he thought he knew. For that reason one often finds that a great scientist is a deeply religious man. I think the poet and the publicist-philosopher are to be blamed; for they have both taken the attitude that because steam was harnessed or the Ape's ancestry traced, that the mystery was resolved. Or what is even more stupid is the opinion that all problems and mysteries are soluble. As if this were so! There are realities which the human brain by its own nature and limitation, is entirely blind to, let alone capable of solving. But, to deny its existence merely because one is unaware of its existence, is to my mind rather rash, arrogant, ignorant. Yet for all that, theology fell into the trap science did not lay for it, for pure science is nothing but the practice of logic, a method; and for all its discoveries it can never unravel the human heart, nor does it attempt to do so. To think that the mystery of the harvest can be resolved, merely by explaining the manurial require-

ments of wheat, is as ambitious a project as describing music by measuring the length of catgut in the violinist's bow. I think it must be that the parish leave the pews empty not because the mystery is explained, but because they do not perceive it any more. Poetry could remedy this, if it had the space enough; and they, the time.

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* * *

Indians Overseas and South Africa

(Continued from Page 6, Col. 2)

our domestic affairs arising out of that document has now fallen away . . . The plain fact is this. In 1927 the Government of the Union in effect affirmed its acceptance of a truth . . . that the Ghetto damages not only those who dwell there, but those who compel them to dwell there. So far we have failed to give convincing evidence that the Ghetto-creating mentality is not still with us. One can but hope that we shall not have to pay too heavy a price before we finally shake ourselves free of it."

But even so great a statesman as General Smuts, who, on a similar occasion in 1925, warned his predecessor in office that the Colour-Bar Bill then proposed was, in respect of Asiatic and African opinion, "a firebrand flung into a hay-stack", does not appear — as he showed at the United Nations Assembly — to understand that the passing of the present Ghetto Act, despite the protests of the Government of India, which undoes all that Mr. Gandhi sought to accomplish by his original Passive Resistance struggle in South Africa for seven years, and is a unilateral breach of the Capetown Agreement between the two Commonwealth Governments and formally confirmed by their respective Legislatures, is not solely a domestic issue, but is in conflict with the San Francisco Charter, because of the racial issues involved.

INDIA AND HUNGARY

They are thousands of miles apart; one is a sub-continent, the other a small, land-locked country in the midst of Europe. Philologists have tried to find common elements in Hindustani and Magyar with more or less success; historians and ethnographers have drawn parallels of evolution and origin. But off-hand you would hardly think how deep and interesting Indian-Hungarian relations have been; how many outstanding Hungarians have been drawn by the magic of India's culture and religion.

I must go back to the early nineteenth century to begin this very sketchy record of these links. It was then that a young Hungarian man-of-letters came to India. His name was

Alexander Csoma de Korös, he was born in Transylvania and all his early life he was attracted by the East. Not by the diamonds of Golconda, not by the prospects of easy plunder. He was a naturalist and a philologist. He was also something of a saint. With practically no money, with no introductions and very slender resources he penetrated into Lhasa, made friends with Thibetan monks—the Lhama Sangje Puntsog was his life-long

Paul Tabori

friend — and published the first Thibetan dictionary ever to be printed. He roamed all over India, especially the North-West, spent much time at Lahore, walked all the way from the Punjab to the capital of Kashmir. And in 1842 he died at Darjeeling where to this very day a memorial column proclaims his indomitable will and his work in opening up the linguistic and cultural secrets of the North West Frontier and Thibet to the Western world.

A hundred years later his biographer and another sincere friend of India traced reverently Alexander Csoma de Korös' footsteps. Ervin Baktay spent, in two instalments, more than a decade in India. He wrote subsequently about a score of books in which he dealt with Indian problems and his great work "India" is the standard publication to this very day. He also devoted special volumes to Nepal and Hyderabad, to Kashmir and the North West Frontier. He translated the Mahabharata and the Ramayana into Hungarian and did everything to spread Indian culture in his country. He became a Buddhist and formed a small Buddhist community in Budapest.

Another distinguished Hungarian who gave most of his life to India was Sir Aurel Stein who was born in 1862 in Budapest and before he died in India in 1943, became one of the greatest archaeologists of our century. He made extensive explorations in Chinese Turk-estan, central Asia and west China; but per-



Mr. Ervin Baktay at the memorial tablet to Alexander Csoma de Koros at Darjeeling.

haps his best and most important work was done in upper Swat, Baluchistan and Makran. His books included "**Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir**", published almost half-a-century ago, a great volume entitled "**The Thousand Buddhas**", another called "**On Alexander's Track to the Indus**" and many treatises on Sanskrit literature. Sir Aurel devoted his whole life to opening up the past of Asia to the present; but he was also keenly interested in contemporary problems and had a deep sympathy for India's masses.

Nor has Moslem India lacked its Hungarian friend and exponent. Professor Julius Germanus is still teaching at the Oriental Academy in Budapest having survived the difficult times of the siege and destruction of the Hungarian capital. For several years he was a professor at Santiniketan and speaks Hindustani just as fluently as Arabic and many other Oriental languages. Prof. Germanus is one of the very few Europeans who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca as a Moslem; he embraced the religion of Islam early in life and among his friends numbers King Ibn Saud with whom he has stayed many times. He has written a dozen books on India and hundreds of articles dealing with both Hindu and Moslem life.

A more personal and very moving contact between India and Hungary is connected with the great poet Rabindranath Tagore. The Poet as he was simply called came to Hungary in 1927. He was tired and ill; someone had spoken to him about the healing waters of Balatonfüred, set on the shores of lovely Lake Balaton in Western Hungary. He came there with his secretary and the latter's lovely wife; and the doctors of Balatonfüred restored his health and vitality. He spent almost two months in the small watering place where generations of Hungarians have taken their summer vacation. Though he was ill, he could not resist the temptation to work. It was in Balatonfüred that he wrote his beautiful volume of poems, "**Fireflies**". I had the privilege of watching him at work, sitting on the open balcony of his suite in his flowing white robes. He wrote the poems first in Bengali and then added the English version on the same page. The original was inscribed with a special pen and ink on metal tablets and the book was printed later from these tablets, reproducing the Poet's own handwriting.

Before he left Balatonfüred, Tagore planted a plantain tree to commemorate his stay. A little memorial plaque was placed near the tree and the whole place fenced in. Year after year when I went to Balatonfüred, I went to see how the little tree was progressing. It grew into a sturdy plantain; a whole small grove was planted gradually around it and it became the favourite spot for lovers. Then the war came and its tide rose over the country. The shores of Lake Balaton saw much hard fighting as the Russians cleansed Hungary of Nazi contamination. But only the other day I received a letter from friends in Balatonfüred. **Tagore's tree had escaped the ravages of war—it still stood, bearing testimony to the visit of the Poet, a living memorial to Indo-Hungarian friendship.**

Extracts from "Fireflies"

My fancies are fireflies,—

Specks of living light

Twinkling in the dark.

* * *

The shy shadow in the garden

loves the sun in silence,

Flowers guess the secret and smile,
while the leaves whisper.

* * *

Before the end of my journey

may I reach within myself

the one which is the all,

leaving the outer shell
to float away with the drifting multitude
upon the current of chance and change.

Rabindranath Tagore.

* * *

FIREFLIES by Rabindranath Tagore, published by the Macmillan Company, New York.

Independence Will Bring Indian Unity

Before "Western Civilisation" had emerged from Barbarism, India had a civilisation and a highly developed philosophical culture of its own.

This has often been commented on and the query made, why, this being so, is there still such a backward social system in India, why does the Caste relations still remain as rigid as ever, despite the general advance throughout the world? This is easily answered. The Imperialist domination of India has meant the holding back of economic development and thereby kept the forces in check which could have altered the social structure of the country and finished forever with the Castes as economic development, finished with Feudal relations in Europe.

It is almost unbelievable, but the fact remains, that when war broke out in 1939, and India was declared in, not by the Indian people, but by the British Viceroy, that great country with 400 million of a population, and with all the essential natural resources, couldn't manufacture a motor-car, a field-gun, a tank or an aeroplane, while in the countryside the 'most primitive methods were, and are, still in use in the cultivation of the soil. But the Chains of Imperialism are being broken and a new India is emerging from the fires of war and suffering. Of course the Imperialists will continue to manoeuvre, will continue to play one group against another, in the hope of being able to hold on to their evil power a little longer. But the forces at work within the country will prove too strong for them.

Caste System

Despite the rigidity of the Caste system and the differences between Hindus and Moslems, Imperialists will be overcome and India will be free. And this should be the test of every Indian peasant worker, bourgeois or philosopher the test of all party policy, freedom and independence. All efforts should be directed towards this great goal. No one who has read of, or studied the Caste system will for a

moment halt the effort to end the unspeakable, intolerable conditions imposed on the "untouchables". But Ambedkar should understand that as long as the British are in India there will be little chance of eliminating "untouchability". Its continuation into the Twentieth Century which Henry Wallace has called "the Century of the Common Man", is a consequence of the Imperialist policy of holding back Colonial development.

William Gallacher, M.P.

During the past 150 years there has been phenomenal progress in the West. The great expansion of the tools of production has opened entirely new horizons to mankind and despite the fact that they have been for a time obscured by the dark clouds of two world wars, the opportunities still are there, if we can overcome the exploitation and greed that brings wars, need and destruction upon us. But as has already been mentioned during this great formative period India made no progress whatever, the Social relations remained practically constant and only with the "shake-up" of the first World War did anyone in India, begin seriously to discuss the elimination of "untouchability". But if there had been, as there could have been, an effective development of India's economic resources, if like the American Colonists, the Indian people had broken free from the bondage of Imperialism, what a change would have manifested itself in the life of India, with modern industry, modern transport and modern agriculture, new forces would have arisen in town and country, all demanding and all capable of participating in the Government and administration of the country. In such conditions "untouchability" would vanish and the Caste system would become an historical anachronism.

So also with Pakistan. Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of the Moslems, and while all measures are considered that will ensure

their full rights in a Free India, it would be a wholly untenable position to demand "no independence for India till we get Pakistan". That would be an invitation to the Imperialists to tighten their grip on the life of the Indian nation. Independence, and with it economic progress, should be the battle cry of Hindu and Moslem alike.

With independence and the release of the economic forces in India, the sectarian struggle will begin to recede. Hindu and Mohammedan workers like Catholic and Protestant workers here in Britain, will find themselves employed in the same factories, organised in the same unions, members of the same political parties. Education, technical, as well as general, will

become essential for all. Planned economy as against the chaos of Capitalist exploitation, will be the decisive issue for the Indian people, whatever their sectarian beliefs may be. On this great path of progress Indians of all, and of no, creeds will unite. Culture will take on a new character, philosophers will be faced with new tasks.

It was Marx who said that in the past philosophers had sought to explain the world

Yes, and the Indian people free and independent, bringing all their great resources into the struggle, can contribute a mighty share to the greatest of all tasks, making the world a place of peace, of progress and of happiness for all humanity.

GANDHIAN ECONOMICS

The first part of this article "Basic Education at Sevagram", appeared in the April number of "INDIA and the WORLD."

—EDITORS.

* * *

It would perhaps not be out of place if I wrote something about Gandhian economics as we came to understand them during our stay at Sevagram, since they are of fundamental importance to any study of the aims and achievements of the village and educational work that the Ashram is carrying on.

Gandhian economics are not the crude and mystical travesties of them that are accepted as authentic in the West and even in India itself. "All machinery is evil" would be a pretty fair summary of these. In actual fact Gandhi has accepted centralised heavy industry for all public utilities, such as power, irrigation, steel, shipping, transport, telegraphs, etc., and even for the mass production of machine parts or agricultural tools that cannot be effectively made in the village. These industries are to be run on either socialistic or co-operative lines. What Gandhi wants to avoid is not industrialism itself (he has accepted

as necessary the benefits that can be bestowed by a wise and moderate programme of industrialism) but the slavery and dependence on the machine and the violence to which industrialism has so far led.

India's great source of wealth is her manpower, and Gandhi fears that mass production in India will lead inevitably to unemployment unless artificial needs are stimulated leading

HALLAM TENNYSON

to the creation of a market for luxury goods and unless India enters the international market and tries to produce a large amount of goods for export. Both these things will lead to violence, the first because it will deprive the peasant and worker of that moral autonomy that is the pre-requisite of a non-violent life, and will make him the slave of financiers and advertisers; the second because it will force India into the present cut-throat competition of international economics leading inevitably to treaties and an entanglement in 20th Century power politics. The aim is that the villages should try and produce their primary necessities

themselves and that no goods should be exported till their own needs have been adequately met.

The production of clothing on village looms is to be linked to a system of "balanced agriculture". Through this the country will be organised into regions aiming at agricultural self-sufficiency; and village boards will decide what portion of the planned crops would be most suitable to their particular areas. Until these estimated needs have been fulfilled no permits would be given for commercial crops or crops grown for export.

Positive Aims

It is often said that Gandhi believes in the moral value of "drudgery" and wants to see the continuance of the present working conditions throughout India. This is certainly not true. It has already been pointed out that agricultural implements and spare parts can be made in centralised heavy industry if necessary. The regions themselves would also be encouraged to set up local factories to make similar labour-saving devices and, as has already been seen, the proposed public utilities would help to eliminate the drudgery that makes work today such an imposition and keeps the women as slaves to their household duties. The aim of the Village Industries Association has always been to work out the most efficient machines available to the village purse.

What are the positive aims behind the Gandhian economic theory? It must be noticed at once that the ideal of a high standard of economic living in the West, is discarded from the first. To be sure a high standard of living is to be aimed at, but only on the condition that this does not lead to the concentration of economic power in the hands of the state or of an unrestricted capitalism.

India's voice in the councils of the world is to be one unfettered by considerations of power or economic advantage, while at home the economic conditions should encourage a disciplined self-reliant people among whom economic divisions have been reduced to a minimum, if not completely liquidated (I have not the space to describe the methods by which the big landowners and financiers are to be

turned into "trustees of the State", or, if they prove selfish and stubborn, how they are to be gradually shorn of their power.) All this, it is maintained, will lead inevitably to a society in which non-violence becomes the only sanction and the natural method of political expression.

These economic theories are very ably set out in Dr. J. C. Kumarappa's book "**Why the Village Movement?**" and anyone interested would do well to follow them up. The very prejudiced approach to Western economics in the early chapters does not invalidate the lucidity of the arguments later brought forward in some detail. I think that it would greatly increase the pleasure and benefit of anyone visiting Sevagram if they, at the same time, study the wider implications of the economics on which the village work and Basic Education are founded. It certainly increases one's respect for what has been achieved. Here is not just an isolated experiment, but a whole society in microcosm — gay, disciplined, hard-working and non-violent.

* * *

"My work should be, and therefore is, to organise the production of handspun cloth, and to find means for the disposal of the **Khadi** thus produced. I am, therefore, concentrating my attention on the production of **Khadi**. I swear by this form of **Swadeshi** (home-production. Eds.), because through it I can provide work to the semi-starved, semi-employed women of India. My idea is to get these women to spin yarn, and to clothe the people of India with **Khadi** woven out of it."

Gandhiji in "**My Experiments with Truth.**"

* * *

BOOKS

The Perennial Philosophy

BHAGAVAD GITA — *The song of God. A new translation by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood with an introduction by Aldous Huxley. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, India. Rs. 2. 12 As.*

The Bhagavad Gita is one of the great poems of the world. It is well known, in a translation, to English scholars, but in view of our long and intimate association with India it ought to have an honoured place in every Englishman's library. I hope that this new translation will have a large sale.

THE PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHY. By Aldous Huxley (Chatto & Windus) 300pp. 12s 6d.

Aldous Huxley is grandson of Thomas Huxley, friend of Darwin and famous for his advocacy of the theory of evolution. He is brother of Julian, the distinguished zoologist, who is now Secretary of UNESCO. His brilliant, often satirical novels, expressive of his discontent and disgust with many of the

— Reviewed by —

Stephen Hobhouse M.A.

— Reviewed by —
**The Very Rev.
W. R. INGE**

One of the most important events in human history is the almost simultaneous emergence of a higher and more spiritual religion in China, India, Persia, Palestine and Greece about the middle of the first millennium before the Christian era. It took different forms in Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Hebrew prophecy, and Orphism. But fundamentally it was the same revelation of the nature of God and of the essential dignity of the spirit of man. In Europe it culminated in what Christians call the Incarnation, the life of "the prophet of Nazareth in Galilee," in whom God "reconciled the world to Himself." Christians have always been ready, as St. Paul was, to identify the indwelling Spirit of God, of whose presence they have intimate experience, with the spirit of the glorified Christ. But names are not very important. Mysticism overleaps all denominational barriers. What Catholic theologians call the perennial philosophy is the intellectual presentation of spiritual religion, and we find it in Asia as well as in Europe. The West and the East have much to learn from each other; both have suffered from unwise aloofness.

features of our mechanized civilisation, have been eagerly read both in Britain and America. Since 1938 he has been living in California and has been associated with some of the least objectionable productions of Hollywood. But his original agnosticism has of recent years been dispelled by a prolonged searching, yes, a loving study of those prophets and teachers of the inner life who have earned the right to the name of mystics, because of their single-minded search for the discovery of God and for growing harmony and union with him, considered as the **One** source and sustainer of all things, the "**Ground**" or "**Substance**" of both the natural world and of the human soul. Here Huxley has found rest and the power to comfort and inspire others, while losing little of the brilliance of his expression.

He has produced several novels informed with this new spirit, also "**Grey Eminence**", a fine historical study (not always accurate) of different forms of Catholic mysticism, and a volume of religious philosophy, "**Ends and Means**". His most recent gift to us is a well selected anthology of the great mystics (published New York, 1943, London, 1946) which he calls the "**Perennial Philosophy**", an ancient name for the traditional mystical and metaphysical teaching of the Greek philosopher,

Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah's review of Wilfred Cantwell Smith's "Modern Islam in India" has been held over until our next issue.

Plato and his disciples, which was adopted by the best theologians of the Roman Catholic Church. Some hundreds of fine passages, long and short, gathered from the mystics, are here strung together by an explanatory and illustrated commentary.

For most readers the unique value of this book is that for the first time it enables us to read, in almost equal proportions, extracts from European and from Oriental mystics, that is, from Christian mystics of this "perennial" Platonist-Catholic tradition and those of the great Asiatic religions in their purest form; and it is most illuminating and convincing to observe how wonderfully similar, below all surface differences of expression, are their reports from the country (so to speak) of the contemplative soul.

In the choice of extracts for his anthology the following frequency of the compiler's (often long) quotations (the Christian Bible being mostly omitted, as too familiar) is significant of the respective value for his purpose that he attaches to his different authorities:— the German Eckhart (31), the Englishman William Law (32), the Spaniard St. John of the Cross (23), the Frenchmen St. Bernard (11) and St. François de Sales (17); Buddha (14), the Buddhist "Sutras" (16); the "Upanishads" (12), the "Bhagavad-Gita" (11) for Hinduism; Chuang Tzu, Chinese Taoist (18); and for Islam, Jalaluddin Rumi, the Persian Sufi (16). Among Indians quoted are Shankare and Kabir.

We may judge of the book's contents by the headings of its 27 chapters, e.g. "The Nature of the Ground"; "Mortification, Non-Attachment, Right Livelihood"; "Idolatry"; "Time and Eternity"; "Immortality and Survival"; "Spiritual Exercises." The Editor's commentary links up the sublime utterances of these ancient prophets with most of the tremendous problems with which we are wrestling today—the psychological stresses of the modern man, his political dilemmas, the exploitation of nature and of human labour, the increasing stranglehold of mechanisation, mass-production and science recklessly applied, and the threats of total war. Occasionally, however, excessive trust is placed in some of the very doubtful theories of the latest psychology, though the

writer is well aware of the wonderful psychological insight of ancient spiritual directors, such as Bishop Fenelon or St. François de Sales or the great Gautama.

Like others of us, Huxley believes that, if anything can save our society from corruption, disintegration, and final ruin, it will be the experience and practice of the mystics of the West and the East, these men and women who have sought with sacrificial diligence to discover and unite themselves with the divine, all-loving Reality that resides at once in their own hearts, and in the wide universe around. And is not India pre-eminently the land of mystics?

It is true that many pages of this fascinating volume are difficult to understand—at any rate for European readers—especially passages quoted from Indian and Chinese sources relating to the "annihilation" of the separated self and the ineffable (but essentially lovable) nature, without images or attributes, of the Being of Beings. But the God-given intuition of the eagerly seeking, prayerful spirit, will unlock the door to these secret treasures. Love, not thought, finds the way to union with the Universal Spirit, in whom we are all one.

This book will be a delight to many, and it will help those of the East and West to understand one another and to unite—by methods such as those of Mahatma Gandhi and his *Satyagraha*—to overcome the twin curse of industrialism and war.

And if, as seems probable to many, it is now too late to save our warring, mechanized, mass-producing civilisation from complete ruin, it will be largely through the silent power of men and women who are true God-centred mystics that the foundations of a new and fairer age will be laid throughout our world. As the *Gita* says, "when righteousness decays and disorder prevails, God manifests Himself at the right time, to establish justice and liberate the oppressed."

All mankind
Is born for perfection
And each shall attain it,
Will he but follow his duty,

BHAGHAVAD GITA,

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INDIAN UNITY

The basis on which British power in India is to be handed over is not yet known, but all present indications are that some form of partition will be the outcome of the talks and discussions of the past months. The form which this partition will take has yet to be agreed; it seems certain that Pakistan will come into being, probably largely fulfilling the Moslem League's demands, but the destiny of the Indian States is still to be resolved.

The possibility that some of the States will form an independent bloc allied to Britain, cannot be discounted. This would mean an India split in three, with indirect British rule existing in the States through the medium of the Princes.

This "solution" of Indian independence is certainly not the ideal for which so many sacrifices have been made, and its effects can only be bad, and may well be disastrous. There is little value at this stage in indulging in re-criminations against past British policy which has created this position in its need for a divided India; we are facing today the results of that policy and the problem is that of finding the best acceptable solution in the present circumstances.

What will partition mean? One can see its effects from its application elsewhere. In Ireland, where the struggle for independence bears some striking similarities to that of India, the division of the country into North and South has created terrible bitterness, and the exploitation of the religious question for political ends has sown hatred among the people. Political division has caused economic and social division, frustrating many attempts at social organisation in a country which, as a glance at the map shows, is a geographical unit.

In India partition can only have the same effect, but the results will be multiplied many

times owing to the millions of population and the vast area involved. Independence cannot be regarded as an end in itself. Free India will be judged, in the first instance, in the proportion to which it is able to provide the basic necessities of life — food, clothing, shelter and social services for the people who are living on the borderline of starvation. Economically partition would hold back the development of India's great resources with the result that the standard of living of the masses of the people would be kept at a low level through the impossibility of economic planning on a national scale. Schemes of education and public services would suffer in the same way. Frontiers would be created, erecting barriers between one section of the people and another. Culturally India would suffer, for Indian cultural greatness has been achieved by the blending and interaction of the different groupings.

In our last issue we wrote of the dangers of a narrow nationalism. A partitioned India would, in our opinion, greatly hinder the possibility of the development towards Asian and

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World Federation, which was the theme of the Delhi Asian Relations Conference, and to which men of goodwill in all parties, both in India and throughout the world, aspire.

During phases of the struggle for independence differences were forgotten and the Indian people found unity in action. This unity is the only basis on which a free India will be able to progress materially and culturally, and through which the Indian people will be able to make their great contribution towards the creation of a true Commonwealth of Nations which alone can ensure the peaceful settlement of world affairs. This, and not Indian independence alone, is the true goal. The independence and self-determination of the people

of India and all countries is a necessary step in this direction

Unity cannot be imposed from above; it must spring from the wishes and work of the common people. Within federalism the safeguards necessary for the freedom and harmony of all could be worked out.

It is through the Indian people alone that this solution can be reached, and Indian unity regained. The forthcoming settlement will not solve India's needs, the struggle will go on until a United Independent India is achieved, as it eventually will be, without the "assistance" of any interested third party

Our Contributors

M. V. KRISHNA RAO, of the Department of History, Mysore University, India, is a well-known author. His works include: "Gangas of Talkad," "Early History of Mysore," "Problems in Political Theory," "Kantilya," and several other pamphlets.

JOHN HOYLAND. Lecturer at Woodbrook Settlement, Birmingham. Worked and travelled extensively in India. Edited a volume of Gandhi's Songs from Prison, and has written a biography of C. F. Andrews. Other works include: "Indian Crisis — the Background" and a number of books on India.

VARUNI PIERIS-BROWN. Distinguished Singhalese painter working in London. Married to English Sculptor, Atri Brown. Formerly a student of drawing under David Paynter in Ceylon. Studied at Slade School, 1933. An Associate of the Royal College of Art (London).

A. K. JAMESON. Indian Civil Service (Bengal) 1906-28. Lecturer in the University of London, King's College, till 1940. Active in the Peace Pledge Union, Indian Freedom Campaign and the British Centre for Colonial Freedom.

SWAMI NIKHILANANDA. Minister of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre in New York. Lectures and writes on Indian philosophy and comparative religion in the United States. Addressed the Seventh Conference of Science, Philosophy and Religion held in Chicago in 1946.

HOWARD KENT. Pen name of Geoffrey Pittock-Buss, for several years an active member of the Indian Freedom Campaign. Journalist and newspaper editor. First three-act play to be given a London premier in the autumn. One of those lovers of India and its people who has never been nearer to that land than Brighton Pier.

PROFESSOR THE SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH is an internationally known authority on Muslim Affairs as a writer and lecturer. He has been an author of many books in the English language on the various subjects of Oriental Lore; has worked as a Muslim writer at the League of Nations, is now engaged at the University of Oxford in historical research on Muslim India, and is Professor of Oriental Culture and Philosophy at a Latin American University.

A Note on the

Ancient Temples of Mysore

by M. V. KRISHNA RAO

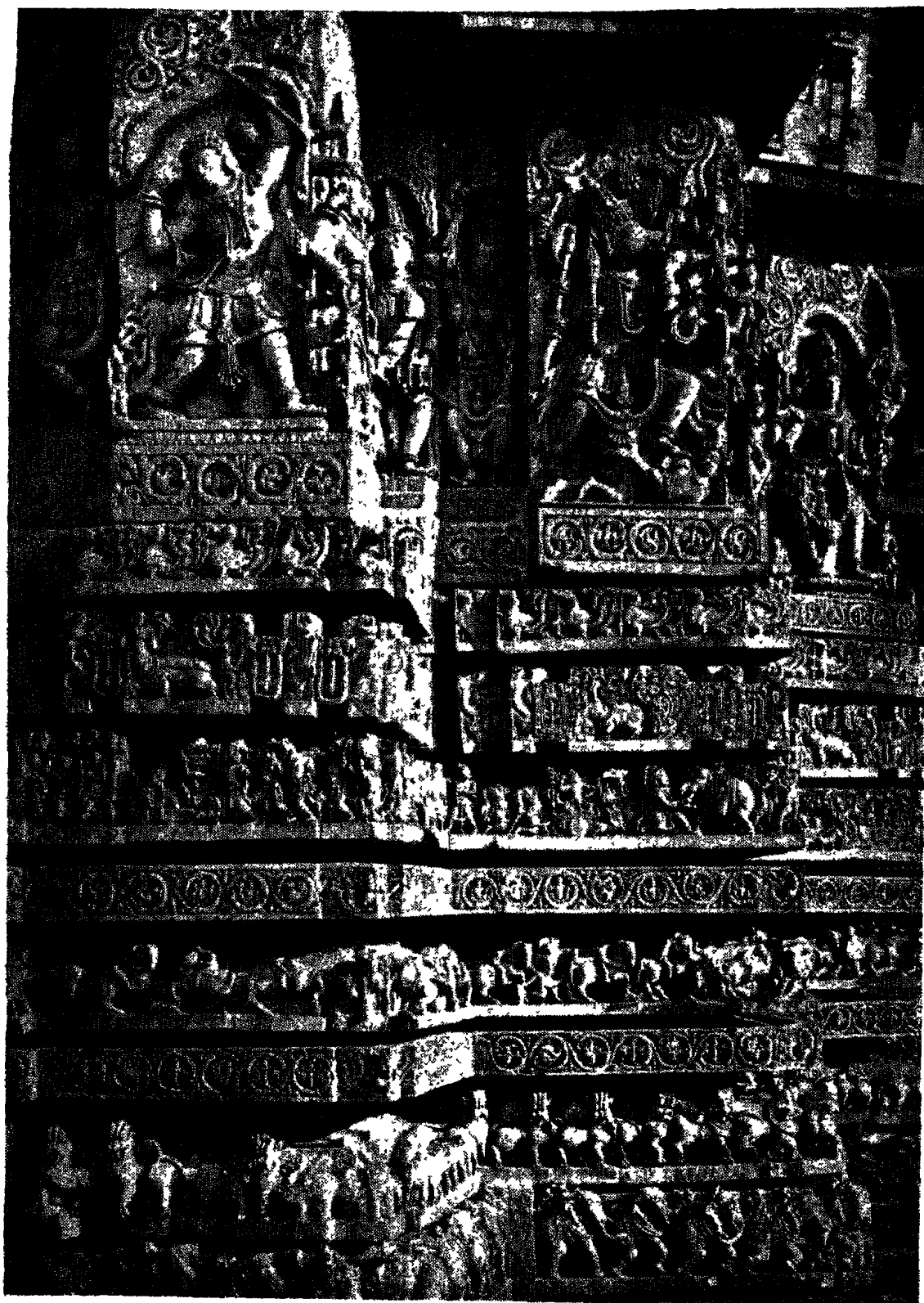
Mysore makes a special appeal to the artist with the ornate shrines, marvels in sculpture and scenery abounding in all the charms of the tropics. It is the birth-place of great dynasties that dominated the Deccan and the South for centuries; it is the home of the greatest philosophers of India—Sankara and Ramanuja, Hindu architecture and sculptors have found their fullest development and perfection there.

The passion for self expression and the desire to create new forms and to express the deepest longing and aspirations are immanent in the human mind. Just as every object in nature is an expression of some aspect or the other of the infinite beauty of God, so too man and his reactions. He tries to catch up and mirror as a part of nature some aspect of the divine harmony and glory, to study nature in her infinite variety, and to interpret faithfully the details with which nature builds the super-structure or objects of divine perfection and beauty. In spite of diversities of race, colour and creed, in Mysore as in India there is one common factor of capital importance—the monsoon, that alternating rhythm more violent than the seasons, which makes man feel as too small for nature. Accordingly human life is conceived in terms of the drama of the skies, the eternal round of birth and death, the poor human being emptied of his substance and reduced to the ephemeral play of shadows or illusions.

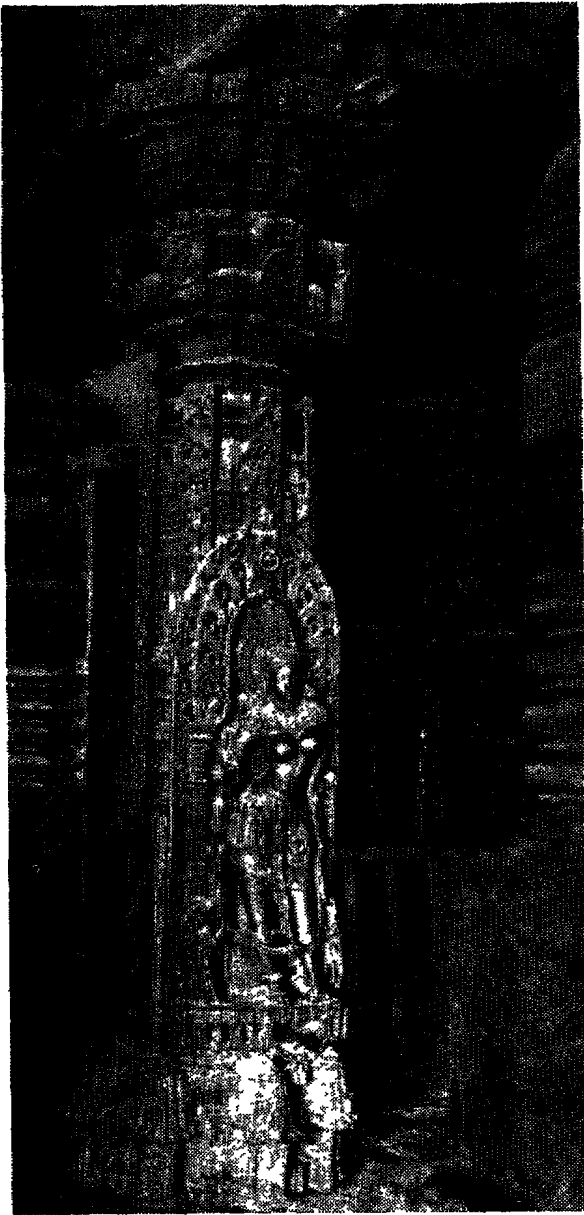
These are the common factors of Mysore's genius on which the structure of her philosophy, religion and art are reared. So, the object of the Mysore artist has always been to pierce the veil of nature, and in his state of experience of oneness with nature to discover the underlying principle within which nature is trying to manifest, and to transmute that inspiration which he has imbibed by his contact with nature into exquisite forms of beauty and perfection in marble or in pot-stone.

It is common knowledge that without spiritual urge or inspiration, art would only be drawing a body without a soul, a mere simulation of natural objects. Mysore art, as all Indian art, is spiritual, is more religious than secular, and the main purpose is not to paint a picture or carve an image for its own sake, either for its aesthetic value or technical skill, but to symbolise some great abstract idea, to concretise some ideal abstraction or to give form and colour to some inner experience. What is considered as great art is not mere skill of hands and acuteness of eye to depict things as observed, but the power to conceive imaginatively some ideal form or to embody some sublime thought or idea. Thus art is not realistic or representational because of this very subjective nature of its psychology.

The specimens of art and architecture sometimes show that the physical perspective is often ignored because the artist's experience of optic illusions does not give him the certainty of the correctness of physical perspective which he regards as too rigid or even too limited for the purpose of artistic design, obstructing the flight of vision and interfering with his notion of mental and imaginative visualisations. To the Mysore sculptor the manifested world is an expression of the divine, and therefore what might appear to be incongruous to the Western mind; an assemblage of human beings, flowers, birds, animals and gods into a decorative scheme in temple architecture, is expressive of the underlying unity of life in the universe. To him all great arts are mere means to an end: Sadhanas for the ultimate aim of life. As he is introspective, imaginative and intuitive, his art is essentially idealistic, symbolic, devotional and even religious. That which is spiritual is also an expression of the beautiful. It is in this sense Mysore art has striking originality, for it is a harmonious combination of the aesthetic and the spiritual and ministers to the



HOYSALA FRIEZE



A PILLAR in the Belur Temple

sentiment of taste and the spirit through the medium of the beautiful in form, colour, rhythm or harmony.

Mysore art was essentially indigenous, was absolutely free from European influences and in many details strangely different from the arts of the rest of India. For the creative genius of the artist was employed for a crystallisation in stone of the conflicts, direction and objective



THE CENTRAL IMAGE in Somanathapur Temple

of the social and religious endeavour of the age of which he was a contemporary or an heir to that heritage. The sculptor was asked to make use of certain conventional forms and conform to certain codes and manuals like **Manasara**, **Sakaladhikari**, **Visvakarmiya**, **Sanat Kumara** and such other treatises on ancient architecture, but these conventions did not fetter the display of his artistic genius.

The Mysore architecture was the product of the blend of Jaina-Dravidian-Chalukyan styles. The domes and porches of the Jainas, the storeyed vimanas, square pillars, corridors, and enclosures and attenuated pilasters of the Dravidians, the star-shaped plan and decorative friezes of the Chalukyas were all blended into a piece of ineffable art under the Ganga and Hoysala rulers of Mysore. It is not to the dimensions or disposition of plan that the temple owes its pre-eminence but to the marvellous elaboration and beauty of its details.

Monographs may be written on the rich sculptural decorations of the temples, particularly on the colossal statue of Gomata, on Manastamba pillars, Mantapas, perforated screens, Madanike figures, relief sculptures and gods and goddesses.

I have mentioned at the beginning of this note that the creators of Mysore art gave symbolic shape to the forces and mysteries of life and of the universe, and a glance at any one of the sculptures reveals the strength of this conviction. The artist of the Gomata image, which is nearly 58 feet high, has drawn a wondrous contemplative expression from blank granite and seems to have meditated not on the glory of the naked human form, nor on the proud and conscious assertion of human personality, but on the heavenly model that leads us from ourselves into the universal life, while translating the sublime idea of man's victory over his Karma into such a piece of wonderful art. The friezes reveal the general burst of delight, the caprice passion, largeness of feeling and sympathy and religious restlessness of the age.

Animated scenes of hunting, of man's wrestling with wild beasts, of **Gandabherunda** eagle attacking a **Sarabha** which attacks a lion which in turn attacks an elephant, which seizes a snake in the act of swallowing a rat — with the figure of a sage wondering at the sight, illustrate the relentlessness of nature as well as man's struggle with the forces of nature. The bas relief describing the story of the epic **Ramayana** in its expression of deepest absorption rises to the height of a transcendental world. There is

conception of the immensity of the universe in the friezes. The central images of the temples are mystically transcendent and yet show signs of breathing life. The bracket figures standing on the capitals of the pillars and supporting the eaves are exquisitely carved. One Madanike figure with well-shaped arms follows the round of the creeper as if growing into one with it and richer sculpture with warbling birds in the arch above the girl's head reveals that life is one and that the human being and the plant grow out of the same primary element. Deeply imbued with this faith the artist knew so convincingly how to merge them in one—the beautiful girl and the luxuriously growing branch. Equally intense was the belief that God or **ANTARATMA** is in everything and so devotion to God cannot exist apart from the love of man and of all sentient beings. Dancing figures in charming variations are marvellous pieces of art, and the emphasis seems to be not so much on the anatomy as on the graceful flexibility of the human body. Just as the philosopher's mind was centred in the metaphysical — the world behind the phenomena, so too the artist never clung to the forms of nature merely as copies but always sought in the objects of reality their spiritual essence and endeavoured to interpret them in their cosmic connections.

It is the fashion today to praise the stark simplicity of the concrete building and one begins to wonder whether the modern functionalism does not conceal a mental and material incapacity to produce works such as the Nordic spirit has generated in the Gothic masters and the Indian spirit in those of Belur and Halebid. It is a curious coincidence that the great French churches at Amiens and Rheims were nearly contemporaneous with Hoysala temples, and the great architectural age in Mysore was the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which witnessed such a wonderful development of a kindred style in Europe.

The Hoysala temples signify a culminating point in the development of Indian art and of intellectual culture, and they are among the supreme artistic creations of mankind. Mysore is proud of this heritage of art, culture and civilisation which has been protected and maintained all through the centuries under the kind and benign rule of its illustrious Royal family.

HOWARD KENT says

Make the Entente more Cordiale

Fantasy weaves the world a pattern which lightens the load of life. Through all ages and among all peoples men and women have manipulated reality into a dream state; a state which has created within human beings a sense of something greater than themselves. When men began to barter minerals they began also to barter their fantasies—the beauty they had instilled into precious stones, into gold, into fabrics and skins by their craftsmanship. And so the interchange of culture is among the oldest of man's occupations.

Oddly enough that interchange seems not to have kept pace with man's technical achievements. Today we have all the facilities for the exchange of man's approach to beauty and yet probably a smaller real appreciation of the work of others than at any previous time in history. A sweeping statement? Yet in Britain at least our heritage points to a greater understanding in the past than at the present. Certainly during the golden age of English art, when the people knew how to sing and the playgoer found in Viola his equivalent to Betty Grable, there must have been an instinctive understanding of that realm of fantasy which we have long since lost.

Man built the machine and the machine is doing its best to destroy man. The cinema projector, potentially of inestimable value, has reduced our dream world to the lowest common denominator. The printing press has enabled the mass production of material which surely no other generation would have tolerated. These things used creatively represent an enormous advance; used as they are at present they represent a grave falling off.

The man who confines his reading to **"Sporting Life"** and **"No Orchids for Miss Blandish"**, looks down contemptuously on those "primitive" peoples who still find their literature in the mouth of the story-teller and their drama in religious festivals.

Of course it is not all so one-sided as that. This is no plea for the West to become again as little children and embrace only the simple things. Apart from being impossible, such a

procedure would throw overboard the many things of very real value which nineteenth and twentieth century Western civilization have produced. Can we but have a freer interchange, however, between the East and the West, we may secure a synthesis which ensures the survival of the best of both worlds.

To India we have to offer a Western conception of this world of fantasy which at its highest, can move man's spirit powerfully. We can offer a development of the drama which is not only a thing of beauty in itself, but which can also stimulate man's ideas. We can offer the art of the cinema which has created a new means of stirring the emotions through light and shade. We can offer the poetry, the music, the painting of men and women who seek not merely to soothe the senses but to probe beneath and to reveal that stuff of which dreams are truly made. To India we can offer an art without veneer, raw in places, harsh in others, but nevertheless a genuine art which survives—and even thrives—in the jungle of contemporary vandalism.

From India we seek that cool, quiet approach to the beauty of the world which has long been a distinctive contribution of the East. We seek an understanding of the poetry which flows like a river, soothing but never acting as a soporific. We seek an appreciation of the craftsmanship which, with infinite patience, can beautify a temple and cover it with carving from head to foot. We seek to learn the beauty of the music with which Indians describe that thing within them which cannot be described by any other means.

It is not such a difficult task really, but it is one which is scarcely touched. A group of paintings at India House; some sculptures in a Bond Street gallery; an arty evening of Indian music in Bloomsbury—these all may be provided, yet their contribution is of the slightest. Ask Mr. Johnson of Surbiton about Indian poetry. Seek Mr. Marshall's views on Indian paintings, at his home in Didsbury. Go on the stage of the local Odeon and ask the audience what they think of Indian music.

Airy-fairy ideas? Maybe, since Mr. Johnson probably doesn't know anything of Cecil Day Lewis; Mr. Marshall looks blankly when you mention Graham Sutherland, and the Odeon audience is not even aware that William Walton has written music for the films they see. But people with airy-fairy ideas have made their mark, providing they held them firmly enough, and some hard-working folk are trying to tell Mr. Johnson about Cecil Day Lewis, while no-one is trying to tell him about Rabindra Nath Tagore.

When once I spoke about India at a Rotary Club in a country town, the local doctor told me in all seriousness that if we left India the entire population would do nothing but cut one another's throats. This was not wholly an example of political ignorance, it was also an example of cultural ignorance. To this well-meaning man the Indians were just a crowd of "dirty niggers". They had never been presented to him in any other light. Political falsehood can only thrive when it has a basis of cultural ignorance to work upon. Half the misconceptions in this country about India and its people would be removed if the people of Britain could be induced to regard the Indian as the man next door.

That cannot only be done through the arts, of course, for the educational progress will take many years. In every way we need that development of feeling between Britain and India which comes only from a recognition of mutual feelings.

What are my proposals? That the new Indian Government should embark upon a definite policy of presenting the East to the West and in return it should seek to present to its own people the finest the West can offer. For there are mutual suspicions to be broken down. A game of power politics has been allowed to bedevil the relationships of two great peoples. This can now be stopped if we are sufficiently determined. A national Indian Government is in a position to establish those equal relations which must form the basis of any understanding. With all its faults a British Labour Government can regard relationship between Britain and India as a human and not a class problem. But governments alone will not solve the problem; what is needed also is sufficient men and women who seek strongly enough to seek that exchange between East and West from which understanding can arise

and out of which both East and West will benefit.

I began by speaking of the need for a synthesis and the immense problem before us must not let us forget that need. Hiroshima reminds us that Western achievement has brought mankind to the brink of disaster. The need for victory in the battle with the Philistines is urgent. For it is this battle which will determine the future of the world.

"I hope this spirit of sacrifice will grow, and also the will to suffer . . . This is real liberty. Nothing is higher, not even national independence. The West has an unshakable belief in force and material wealth; therefore no matter how much it cries for peace and disarmament, its ferocity will cry still louder . . . We, in India, must show the world what this truth is which not only makes disarmament possible, but transmutes it into strength . . . Although we may delude ourselves through phrases acquired from the vocabulary of the West, Swaraj, home rule, is not really our goal. Our battle is a spiritual battle, a fight for humanity. We must emancipate man from the meshes he has woven around him, free him from the organizations of national selfishness. We must persuade the butterfly that the freedom of the sky is better than the shelter of the cocoon. In India we have no word for "nation". When we loan the word from other peoples it is not suited to us, for we should ally ourselves with Narayana, the Supreme Being, and our victory will be the victory for God's world . . . If we can defy the powerful, the rich, the armed by showing the world the power of the immortal spirit, the castle of the giant Flesh will crumble into nothingness. And then man will find real Swaraj. We, the miserable outcasts of the Orient, we must conquer freedom for all humanity."

Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Hinduism and the Human Situation

by SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

The following article is a hitherto unpublished extract from an address given by Swami Nikhilananda to the Seventh Conference of Science, Philosophy and Religion, held in Chicago in 1946.

—EDITORS.

Hinduism is one of the oldest religions of the world, compared to which Buddhism, founded five hundred years before the birth of Christ, seems almost modern. It has inspired the Indian culture in all its aspects for the past seven thousand years. It has enabled Hindu society, during its long history, to cope with various vicissitudes resulting from both external and internal causes. India's national leaders, in contrast to those of other countries, have been saints, prophets and mystics. The religious tradition has come down to the Indians from time out of mind in an unbroken line. India has always been a practical laboratory where religious phenomena have been experimented with. Besides giving birth to two world religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, India has sheltered members of the Jewish faith, Christians and Zoroastrians, and later on came in intimate contact with Islamic culture. All these different faiths acted and interacted upon each other, adding to the richness of the Hindu faith itself.

The universe, according to the Hindus, is a spiritual entity filled with the spirit of the Lord. It did not come into existence at any particular point of time. It is without beginning or end. It is a projection of the Lord Himself. The created universe goes through phases of manifestation and non-manifestation. This is an ever-recurring process, described in the *Vedas* as the "breathing of the Cosmic Soul." On account of ignorance, men see here a battleground of conflicting interests, of competition, jealousy and so on. But when the truth is known one sees a harmony among all the entities of the universe, animate or inanimate. The soul's liberation does not lie in identification with names and forms, the pairs of opposites,

and the world process, but in going beyond them.

Like the universe, souls also are without beginning. **The soul is the unchanging and immortal substance in every living being.** It is of the nature of Spirit and Consciousness. It is the detached witness of the changes that take place in the body and in the mind. The same soul shines equally in the highest man and the lowest creature, the difference being in the degree of manifestation. Everyone will eventually realise the divinity of his soul.

Birth and death are related to the body and not to the soul. The *Upanishad* says: "The soul is not born nor does it die. It has not come from anywhere nor has it produced anything. It is unborn, eternal, everlasting, ancient; it is not slain when the body is slain. The soul, smaller than the small and greater than the great, is hidden in the hearts of all living creatures. A man who is free from desires and free from grief sees its majesty through tranquil senses and mind."

The different souls found in the relative universe are reflections of one soul in various material objects, like the reflections of the sun in many waves. In spite of this apparent multiplicity the soul always remains non-dual. The *Vedas* proclaim the oneness of the individual soul and the universal soul.

Why does the perfect, infinite and immortal Spirit appear as a finite, imperfect, and mortal creature? Why does the One appear as the many? This is the result, says Hinduism, of its identification with finite, material forms. What is the cause of this identification? The *Upanishad* describes it as *maya*, or ignorance. *Maya* is inscrutable and indescribable power inhering in Ultimate Reality itself, which at first conceals its true nature and then projects the material universe and all the material forms contained therein. The Spirit identifies itself with these forms and appears as finite beings subject to birth, death, and similar changes, hunger and thirst, pain and pleasure, and the other pairs of opposites. Such illusion is ex-

perienced in man's everyday life as well. Under its spell he sees the mirage in the desert, takes a rope for a snake, and while asleep, regards his dreams as real. But the appearance of water in the desert or the snake in the rope is illusory; that is why it cannot alter the real nature of the desert or the rope. Likewise, the false identification of the soul with material forms cannot change its real nature. **The discovery of the spiritual nature of the soul, and its non-duality, is the goal of religion.**

Thus Hinduism speaks of two souls, as it were: the real soul and the apparent soul. The real soul is pure Spirit; the apparent soul, on account of *maya*, is identified with a material form. It is the latter that thinks in terms of good and evil, acts righteously and unrighteously, and experiences rewards and punishments here and hereafter. The Vedic doctrine of *karma* and reincarnation does not apply to the real soul, which neither is born nor dies, but to the apparent soul. In the relative world the law of *karma*, or cause and effect, determines a man's thought and action. Good produces good, and evil produces evil. This law operates after death as well. That men are born with dissimilar physical and mental traits is the result of their past actions. Neither God nor fate is responsible for this. We should accept our present misfortunes with calmness but at the same time we should now act in a righteous way so that the future may bring us only good. Man is the builder of his own destiny and the captain of his own soul.

What happens to the soul after death is necessarily of the nature of a theory. Of the three main theories on the subject, namely, total annihilation as held by the materialists, eternal reward or punishment in heaven or hell as held by the Christians, and reincarnation as held by the Hindus, the last seems to be plausible. It is, anyway, a good working hypothesis. One can live and act as if it were true. A belief in reincarnation dulls the edge of man's combative spirit and his desire for vengeance. It teaches him not to make others responsible for his failures and sufferings. It also supplies the incentive to make one's future better.

The goal of life is absolute perfection through the unitive knowledge. As this exalted condition cannot be attained in one life, the Hindu philosophers speak of reincarnation. In each birth a man adds a little more to his merit. In the end he realizes his true nature, goes beyond

the illusory law of cause and effect, and thus attains immortality and freedom.

The Godhead, or Ultimate Reality, is described in the *Vedas* as **Brahman**, or the Absolute. Devoid of name, form, or sex, **Brahman** is sometimes referred to as He and sometimes as It. **Brahman is Spirit and Consciousness, the unchanging Reality behind the changing universe.** It is both transcendent and immanent. It alone exists: when the truth is known the names, forms and material objects are realized to be nothing but the Godhead. The world is rooted in Reality. It is not unreal in the sense that a barren woman's son or a castle-in-the-air is unreal. Material objects appear real because the Godhead, which is the only Reality, forms the inmost essence of all. Without it, nothing whatsoever can exist. It is of the nature of purest freedom, love, beauty, existence; it is the abode of blessed qualities alone and is totally free from anger or passion. God does not reward or punish. Man alone is responsible for his suffering and his happiness. Though the wind of divine mercy blows for all—the sinful and the virtuous—only the pure in heart are benefited by it.

Every soul is potentially divine. This divinity is hidden on account of ignorance; it can be manifested through knowledge. **The manifestation of the soul's divinity is the whole of religion.** God can be seen and must be seen; which means that a man can be perfect and must be perfect. Religion is not mere believing or reasoning; it is being and becoming. It is a unique experience between the eternal Godhead and the eternal soul. Then alone "the knots of the heart are destroyed and all doubts set at naught."

There can never be a purely spiritual religion. Each religion is bound to be coloured and influenced by the traditions, customs and beliefs of the country in which it operates, though its founder may have transcended them. The religion of Christ, as professed today by the Christians of Europe and America, shows the indelible influence of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Germanic paganism. Much the same is true of Buddhism in China and Japan. The last word on religion was uttered when Jesus said, "I and my Father are one," or when the *Vedas* declared, "That art thou." No further improvement or addition can be made to religious experiences. The world from time to time reiterates this immortal and eternal truth

to suit the changing conditions of life. A faith adequate to meet the demands of today cannot deviate from this fundamental truth. But it certainly does not require the formulation of a new religion or the foundation of a new church which will satisfy all. America has occasionally attempted such things, but the new religions have soon degenerated. In considering a faith suitable for today we have to depend on the experiences and utterances of the prophets.

Meditation and work are the two aspects of spiritual discipline. India has emphasised the first, and the West the second. India is a land of Marys, the West a land of Marthas. A synthesis of meditation and work is necessary for the transformation of the total personality of man. The essence of God is Being, but He unfolds Himself in the world process. One should see Him both with closed and with open eyes. The One and the many are the two aspects of the Godhead. Hence meditation and work are the two modes of his worship. Through the practice of meditation one acquires calmness and serenity, without which work creates restlessness of mind. Again, without work, meditation may degenerate into laziness and self-deception. Intellect, emotion, and the spirit of meditation, when harmoniously blended, create a balanced life. Intellect and emotion are like the two wings of a bird, without which it cannot fly. Meditation is like the tail, which keeps it steady in its course. When these three parts act harmoniously the bird's flight becomes graceful. In the West more emphasis should be given to the practice of meditation to keep man in constant touch with the profound depths of his soul.

The evolution of moral laws is one of the greatest factors of civilisation. Morality is the very basis of society. It distinguishes men from animals, civilised men from primitive. It creates harmony between the different temperaments in a family, in society, and in the world at large. What is the sanction of morality? Many Western thinkers base morality upon expediency. Again, many religions believe that moral codes are derived from the words of their prophets or scriptures. Such moral laws cannot have universal sanction or application. Morality based upon expediency or fear breaks down when faced with formidable obstacles. The Hindu philosophers derive moral laws from the experience of the unity of existence, which includes men of all creeds and

racess and even subhuman beings. The **Bhagavad Gita** says. "Seeing oneself in all and all in oneself, one does not injure others because that means injury to oneself." Then kindness to others and respect for others' opinions do not become acts of condescension.

One of the most important points to be considered in connection with a faith for today concerns the attitude of the followers of one religion towards those of another. Religious bigotry and conflict have greatly discredited the churches in the modern world. **There are enough religions in the world to hate one another, but there is not religious spirit enough to make worshippers love one another.** There exists no feeling of general sympathy between religions. There is no attempt to coordinate the spiritual experiences of the different faiths. Salvation is held to be the monopoly of a single church. The most liberal among the orthodox churches may concede that other religions contain some good ethical features, but it will nevertheless claim to be itself the fulfilment of spirituality. The Hindu view in this matter is very different. According to Hinduism all religions are so many paths to the one goal. Different religions exist to suit different temperaments. It is not a fact that this or that religion is true in this or that respect; **the fact is that all religions are true in all respects in so far as they lead their adherents to the goal of God-consciousness.** The different features of a religion are but manifestations of one eternal religion. The study of comparative religion shows that morality, holiness, and purity are not the exclusive property of any single church. Good men and holy men have been born in all churches and sometimes outside them too.

Modern minds demand a harmony of religions. A similar effort is being made in other fields of human interest. In politics the liberalism and the nationalism of past centuries are being replaced by the ideal of the commonwealth of nations. The ideal of self-determination is becoming more and more vital in the alignment of political powers. **To subordinate all religions to a single church is a sort of religious totalitarianism that does not appeal to the thinking mind.** But the ideal of a universal religion has an irresistible fascination.

Each great religion of the world has three parts, philosophy, mythology, and ritual. Philosophy gives the basic doctrines of religion. Each religion believes that its own doctrines

alone are universal. Mythology, through legends of great heroes and super-natural beings, seeks to make philosophy concrete and practical for ordinary minds. We find no end of variety among the mythologies of the world, and very little harmony. Ritual is a still more concrete form of philosophy. It shows the way to practice religion through ceremonies. We find no end of variety among the rituals of mankind, likewise, and very little harmony.

The Hindu view is that a universal religion already exists and does not have to be created. As humanity includes all human beings, the universal religion includes all religions. **God is the thread on which the religions, like pearls, are strung together.** A man who by following

his own religion has realized God as the all-pervading Existence and the common Father of all, knows what the universal religion is. It is a matter of inner experience; it cannot be formulated in words.

Unity in variety is the plan of the universe. From the standpoint of humanity every man is one with all other men. As Mr. So-and-so he is different from them. As a man he is different from an animal. As a living being he is one with men, animals, birds and plants. As existence he is one with the whole universe. God is the Universal Existence, the Ultimate Unity. In Him we are all one. This universality already exists. It has only to be discovered.

VARUNI PIERIS-BROWN writes on

Fine Art in India

Fine art is a statement of man's reaction to life — its quality depends always upon the quality of the artist's mind.

In addition to fine art there is: pathological art, commercial art (which refuses its rightful label) and the derivative art of a host of amateurs.

A "fine" artist has the mind of a "seer" intensely aware of the pulse of thought around him, but not submerged by it. All else that is essential to the production of good work is patiently and humbly acquired. The Guild Systems of Asia and of Europe ensured knowledge and craftsmanship in the past. The history of outstanding Artists in later Europe shows similar concentration and search throughout their entire lifetime.

Art is truth in the sense that an artist can express truthfully only that which he has experienced with his whole being (mind and senses) not what he thinks he ought to have experienced. In any period of artistic flowering, or in any great individual artist, ideas and beliefs **prevailing at the time** play an integral part, without becoming the core. Since no "School" of the past can be divorced from the mental experience and visual surroundings that

made it—no technique can be imitated except for decorative purposes, and no School can be compared with another, as better or worse.

It is not possible to agree with some modern critics that Indian Sculpture is too luscious and ornate, whilst Greek Sculpture is greater because it keeps more to the essential in shape. India, endowed with much natural beauty and wealth, lived more lusciously than Greece with her sterner climate and less luxurious vegetation. It was natural for Indian people of old to wear jewels and rich clothing, to cover temples with painting and sculpture, to compose joyous music and to dance.

The richness of visual environment — the closeness of jungle sounds, the perfume of myriads of flowers and plants—shaped Indian life in the beginning and brought into being great periods of blossoming, and of decay in Indian Art.

Generally speaking, Hindu acceptance of all-powerful deity manifested alike in beneficial rain and in the devastation of flood; in the healing warmth of sunshine and in cruel disease; in the majestic stillness of landscape and in the mad frenzy of war; led to art in which destructive and creative experience is

entrancing in variety — intricate and comprehensive as life itself. The main theme is adulation of power. Human weakness has no meaning except as an expression of the power that caused it.

Greek Art is very similar in its attitude. The Greek God was a superior being—all powerful and free of earthly care, though not of earthly joy. Human suffering was ignored.

In later India Gautama Buddha preached that human suffering was inevitable, but that man, with his capacity for wisdom may win release from having to be born again to suffer again.

This new self-reliance; this call upon man to rise by human effort alone, removed some old fears; and the rather indifferent but all-powerful deity vanished from Buddhist Art. The greatest periods of Buddhist Art—not only in India and Ceylon but in South Asia, Burma, China and Japan, glorified emancipated man; man full of knowledge and understanding, giving forth a timeless peace and a dream-like joy.

The next great change of attitude in Art came with the Christian era. Though man's attainment of harmony was again presented as being dependent upon man's own endeavour, human frailty was provided for; there was a God—not only all-powerful, but full of love, willing, not only to aid man but to suffer in order to aid more perfectly.

The Crucifixion gave to human anguish a meaning it did not have before. The suffering human being became as triumphant as the being who had achieved harmony, and the Gothic period in European Art came slowly into existence. Later developments have confused mass-consciousness. Modern communications make national thought (in the sense the old Greeks and Indians knew it) impossible. Modern science makes a superficial challenge to faith without being able to eliminate suffering; the tempo of modern life destroys its own basic values and undermines itself; there is confusion, corruption and despair; but the artists or "seers" can still find and express hope; they can still experience and communicate joy—because that is their work, and because the main threads of existence do not change. Town life is much the same all the world over, to-day, visually and mentally. Trade and commerce, industry, social services, sport, translations of literature, comprehensive galleries and museums, profuse reproductions of art and constant inter-

change of ideas; these conditions may have come more perceptibly from the West than from the East in recent times; but Indian life in the past and in the present has played a vital part. This age that we have inherited is just as much Indian as European, and the fine artists—wherever they are born to-day—are conditioned by universal ideas and experiences. Among difficulties peculiar to an Indian Artist in this age is the fact that he shares to a great extent the mental atmosphere of his European contemporaries, but not all their visual experience; and that he shares the visual experience, to some degree, of old Hindu and Buddhist Artists—but not their mental atmosphere. The temptation is to imitate Modern European technique or Mediaeval Indian technique. The result is "hot-house flowers", interesting only because they are strange.

Young Indian Artists are like the artists of Europe before the Gothic period, or the Italian artists just before the Renaissance, or the artists of the late Nineteenth Century in Paris—in need of a new starting point. An external starting point for Indians to-day can only come out of an art where both visual and mental factors are similar to those in Modern India. Neither old India nor Modern Europe can supply this need, and the starting point of an Indian Artist to-day lies only in himself. The whole long game of art must be played by each individual artist alone with nature.

It is helpful to remember that the essence of fine art remains independent of local imagery—though it can only come through it. An Indian Artist's expression of joy four thousand years old is still as accessible to an Icelander or Australian as it is to a modern Indian—provided that he is capable of reaching beyond the strangeness of that visual experience. Certain Buddhist carvings at Ankor are as great a contribution to understanding as the superb frieze of the Parthenon or as complete a human experience as a certain painting of a blue lake by Paul Cezanne. What an artist succeeds in conveying is all that counts, for the greatest art is not confined to the understanding of the individuals who make it, or of the races to which they belong.

The PIETA of Michael Angelo; the BALZAC by Rodin, like Beethoven's music, and the poetry of the Ramayana, cease to be the work of individual men in that they become an expression of the human spirit and enrichment of mankind.

BOOKS

A Marxist on Islam

MODERN ISLAM IN INDIA by *Wilfred Cantwell Smith*. Gollancz. 15/-.

Mr. Smith, as we are informed very early on in this book, is a Marxist; he has attempted a study of the contemporary position of Islam in India from his point of view. That he is a good Marxist, is not for one to dispute here but he does seem to have been so interested in this political point of view, that he has had very little time left for the study of Islam in India today.

To reiterate some of the achievements that the Islamic peoples accomplished, which played such a great part in the European Renaissance, does not excuse other statements made by this author; although one is quite accustomed to reading misquotations and out-of-context references *ad nauseam* in the usual run of missionary books and pamphlets. To take one or two examples: we find on page 106, "The Koran indicates the possibility of other Creators than God". To a theologian the words "Blessed is God, the best of those who create" can have only one meaning. In the first place, Mr. Smith, as an Arabic scholar, should have taken the original text (and context) for examination. Nevertheless, we can tell him on the basis of the English version, that the fundamental point of Islam is that God is the Creator of **all**, in the primary sense; that God creates those things which man utilises in his 'creation' of other, and infinitely smaller things. That man is the 'creator' of some things—but that this power of 'creation' of man is entirely dependent upon his having something with which to create: God gives these primary materials to man, as also the faculty of being a 'creator' in a tiny sense, of other things for his welfare: therefore, in essence there can be only one Creator, and that is God. Allah—The ONE.

Again, Islam is essentially a Theocracy: that is, Church and State are one. This is a fact which is so well known, that Mr. Smith, in attempting to challenge it, tempts one to believe, however reluctantly, that he would like to think that this is not so. Cheragh Ali, his only single reference in support of this contention, is a thoroughly discredited source; thus bringing us to the further point that we recom-

by the SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH

mend the author to note the fact that it is a solemn duty of a writer — and especially an aspiring research worker — to examine his source, using only the most unimpeachable of authorities, if he wishes his work to be regarded as a contribution to the knowledge of the subject.

As for the abolition of private property, we invite Mr. Smith's attention to the cornerstone of Islam: equality of man and his duty to share all with his less fortunate neighbour. Perhaps he might care to look in his English translation of the Koran (II:255) for this passage, and a host of others: "To Him belongs all what is in heaven and all what is in the earth". Islam being a theocracy, this obviously means that all men are entitled to an equal share of that which God has placed on the earth for their benefit. The Prophet Muhammad himself also made many pronouncements on this, in Tirmizi, through Osman, he said: "The son of man has no right than he should have a house wherein he may live, and a piece of cloth whereby he may hide his nakedness, and a chip of bread and some water." Socialism and Marxism—in their best form—are not as new or as original as their devotees would like to think. This will go a long way towards refuting the author's contention that Iqbal borrowed his ideas from Marx.

These are but a few of the innumerable mistakes in "**Modern Islam in India**". Muslims who read it will naturally be somewhat alarmed that their religion and its contemporary manifestations are being portrayed in this manner; those of other faiths, or with no faith at all, if they know something of Islam will probably be surprised at the inaccuracies which it contains. Those without previous knowledge of the religion or its position in the subcontinent today will have something of a shock if they pursue their studies further, and notice the point of divergence of this book with all the recognised authorities.

Not that this book lacks uses: it is emphatically recommended to all Muslim writers as a pattern of what to avoid when doing research of a thoughtful character into a very interesting and devout subject.

LAND AND MOTHERLAND by G. T. Wrench. Faber, 1947. Price 7/6.

AN AUSTRALIAN IN INDIA by Rt. Hon. R. G. Casey. Hollis & Carter, 1947. Price 3/6.

The author of the first of these two books is a self-confessed Conservative and it is obvious that he dislikes the modern western democratic system. He prefers the Indian States' personal form of rule, has a great admiration for Islamic culture and a bias against that of the Hindus, and he believes that the politicians and industrialists of India are anxious for independence merely because they think it will lead to the aggrandizement of themselves and their own political, economic or religious group.

Having said so much by way of caveat, however, one can acknowledge that, in spite of these drawbacks, the author—who has practised as an independent doctor for many years in India—has shrewd things to say about her problems and about possible solutions for them.

He points out that the British are lacking in imagination and are not interested in studying the mentality of those whom they contemptuously dub "foreigners". Hence, with a few notable exceptions the Briton in India has unthinkingly assumed that his own system must be the best and has tried to "insist on making Anglo-Saxons of the Hindus", to quote the phrase of one of the exceptions, Sir Thomas Munro, in a letter to Canning in 1821. Finding the Indian somewhat recalcitrant to this process, he condemns out of hand those traits which differ from his own and attributes them to inherent vice instead of relating them to their real causes.

Thus, for example, the Anglo-Saxon tradition is one of the small family consisting of individuals of marked independence and is therefore utterly different from the Indian, which is that of the large joint family and subordination of the interests of the individual to those of the group. Moreover the English have a highly developed civic sense and a consciousness of the over-riding claims of the State, whereas in India the claims of the family are far stronger than those of the State. Hence what is frequently charged against the Indian as the vice of corruption and nepotism is merely obedience to tradition. Incidentally, the Englishman might remember—if he knew his

own history, which he very seldom does—that it is not so very long since the same charges could have been levelled at him with equal truth; his civic sense is a comparatively recent growth.

When the British first made themselves responsible for the administration of India they had forgotten the days when they owned land in common and had come to regard it as the private property of individuals, whereas India was still in the communal stage. Hence they imposed a landlord-tenant system on India which was utterly alien to her traditions and which had the most disastrous results. For when land is treated as private property it can be offered as security for a loan and at once the reign of the **mahajan**, the moneylender, is established, with the result that in course of time, given poverty on the part of the tenant, he is reduced to the position of a landless labourer, irrevocably and hereditarily in the clutches of the **mahajan**. The author rightly attributes the prosperity of the peasants in Java to the wise policy of the Dutch in rigidly prohibiting land being pledged for a loan.

This was enough by itself to depress the condition of the cultivating classes that is, of 75% of the population, but the situation was made much worse by the industrial revolution in England, which led to the deliberate destruction of Indian industry in the interests of the British manufacturer. The resulting pressure on the land as the only means of subsistence for the great majority has reduced the cultivator to a still more lamentable poverty, while the industrial proletariat, largely outside the scope and protection of Factory Acts, exists in a state of extreme destitution.

The author sees the solution of India's problems in the re-establishment of peasant proprietorship in the land, with the prohibition of its being pledged as security, and the development of co-operative farming. He distrusts modern systems of large-scale farming which treat the soil as something to be exploited for short term gains, and advocates that the goodness taken out of it by the crops should be returned to it in the form of compost—a system practised from time immemorial in China, where the average yield of rice is two to three times that of India. As regards industry, he points out that, both in Europe and America, men are beginning to realise that excessive size and concentration are a mistake economically and still more sociologically and that

smaller, decentralized units of power can be more efficient in many cases and are on many grounds more desirable. Hence he pleads for a wide-spread development of village industries assisted by all the resources of modern science. Finally he is a strong advocate of the revival of the village punchayat system as an organ of local government, as a means of selecting representatives for higher assemblies, and as an essential link between the technical men with authority and the villages.

The author is undoubtedly correct both in his analysis and in at least the main lines of his solutions, though some of his detail is questionable. His matter is well worth careful consideration and therefore it is a pity that he should have attempted the dialogue form, for which he has no aptitude.

The other book is slighter and less important. It is an account of the author's term as Governor of Bengal, but events have moved so swiftly since he left in March 1946 that already much of what he says is out of date. He seems to have brought a welcome breath of fresh air into the somewhat stuffy atmosphere of Bengal administration, but he was there for too short a time—only two years—to effect much. He stresses the utter inadequacy of the revenue of Bengal for its needs and the enormous leeway which has to be made up before the province can even approach solution of its problems. The solution has in any case been made much more difficult by the extreme demoralization which war, famine and communal strife have produced among the people as a whole and particularly in the public services. Like the previous author, Mr. Casey sees that the basic necessity is the raising of the status of the cultivator, which he looks for by means of vastly extended systems of irrigation and storage of water, prevention of soil erosion and application of fertilisers to raise the yield of the crops. Industrial development must be subordinate to this main end and must take the form largely of cottage industries. He distrusts the grandiose plans which are being put forward with so much confidence.

He rightly sees that the end can be obtained only by intimate co-operation between the provinces and that for this purpose it is essential that India should not be divided. He makes a careful examination of the idea of Pakistan and, like all those who are not carried away

by emotion, he comes to the conclusion that it would be utterly unworkable.

One point which both authors stress is the necessity for government to establish much closer contact with the people so as to explain to them the measures required for their benefit and to secure their co-operation in carrying them out. Under alien domination this was impossible, but when India has a government of her own it should be that government's first objective.

A. K. JAMESON

A CHRISTIAN'S OUTLINE OF BELIEF,
Stephen Hobhouse: Fellowship of Reconciliation. Price 6d.

In 1946 Gandhi's method of action for the righting of wrong, and for the changing of the evil will into good-will, won the almost miraculous success of bringing a great nation, held down by imperialism, through into freedom, without a major war. Such a thing has never happened before in history. Gandhi has himself declared on many occasions his indebtedness to the New Testament, and to Christ's method of the Cross. He has realized the meaning of Christ's command, Take up thy Cross, and follow me.

Today, in 1947, Gandhi is marching again, to a yet more difficult and perilous victory, the winning of unity for the nation which he has made free. He is still taking the way of the Cross, going defencelessly amongst the enemies of his Hindu people, in order to build friendship, in complete readiness to suffer at their hands in the following of Truth.

In these days of the atom bomb, when the effort to right wrong, and establish Truth, by the time-honoured methods of warfare and violence means nothing but stark universal suicide, there is every necessity that we should study the way of Christ, and what it has meant to so fine and sensitive a spirit as that of Stephen Hobhouse, who has been a pioneer of Christian reconciliation in many countries. He leads us into the deep things of the Spirit. "We know that it is our union with the living Christ . . . which alone makes possible our union with the Christ who is crucified both in the oppressed and the oppressor".

JOHN HOYLAND



INDIA WORLD

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FEDERALISM OR BONDAGE

The agreement reached between the last of the British Viceroy and the Indian leaders undoubtedly marks a big step forward in India's history. The terms of agreement show a high degree of statesmanship on the part of all concerned, and history may well record that the last of the long line of British Viceroy was the best.

Whatever its limitations—and there are many—a proposal has at last been accepted by Congress, the Muslim League and the Sikhs which will permit British withdrawal from the Peninsula.

That is probably the most important aspect of the agreement; that the British authority will be withdrawn. For there can be no doubt that the presence of a third party in Indian political life has greatly aggravated the communal differences, and it would have been idle to expect a better agreement while the inheritors of past "divide and rule" policy remained within the seat of Indian government.

The troubles of recent months seem, for the time at any rate, to have subsided. Certainly there are widespread murmurings of discontent at the terms. Both the Socialist and Communist Parties, from their different viewpoints, are uneasy about the division of India, and the official Congress leaders may have a great deal of difficult opposition to face from these groups.

Past Congress policy has always favoured a United India, and the sudden volte-face in the acceptance of partition is not likely to be popular among many of its members.

But under present circumstances it is, perhaps, difficult to see what other arrangement could have been reached. The Muslim League's intransigent position on Pakistan, the insistence on breaking India up, destroyed the hope that some last-minute compromise, which would allow a United India, could be effected.

The Muslim League is not to be held wholly responsible, for it has received considerable support and sustenance from past British governments, who saw in it the means of dividing India to maintain the sovereignty of the British Raj. The Labour Government have reaped the whirlwind sown by their predecessors. In all fairness it must be stated that they are doing more for India by getting out of the country than has been achieved in 150 years of British rule. They have given the exception to Tolstoy's statement that "rulers will do anything for their subjects except get off their backs."

Some dangers still remain in connection with Britain's future relations with India, however. If Pakistan elects to remain within the British Commonwealth as a Dominion, and Hindustan secedes as an independent republic, difficulties may well arise. Economically Pakistan is very badly placed; it seems that Jinnah, in his anxiety to press forward his claims, has overlooked the economic backwardness of the territory he hopes to rule. This may produce a situation where Pakistan will become a British

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dependency, looking to Britain for aid, while the economically progressive Hindustan is able to stand on her own feet.

On the other hand this situation may have a different effect, and help in producing the unity of India which is desired by the majority of her people. The control of the Indian army, which is still not decided, may also be a factor tending in this direction. Joint control of the army by the authorities of Hindustan and Pakistan would certainly be a step towards Federal Government.

It is difficult to see why the solution of a Federal system does not recommend itself to all concerned. Such a system would provide the greatest possible regional autonomy, and the central authority, composed of representatives of the different regions, would concern itself only with questions of political and economic importance affecting the country as a whole. Control of regional affairs would be in the hands of the regions and not the central authority. Surely, within such a system, even the Muslim League could find all the safeguards it apparently needs.

Into such a system the Indian States could also be successfully incorporated. Headed by the State of Baroda, some States, including Gwalior and Indore, have set a good example by deciding to join the Indian Union, but the future of others remains undecided.

The secession of some of the bigger states from a free India would mean an incredible complication of Indian internal affairs, and in this event, the rulers of such States would bear a heavy responsibility for the internal strife and bloodshed which would inevitably ensue.

The greatest need is for tolerance and mutual trust between the different Indian parties in the difficult transition period that lies ahead. Given this tolerance, and a real desire by all concerned to act in the interests of India's people, the road to Indian unity can be retrieved.

By achieving unity India would not only set an example to the whole of humanity, but could provide the first step towards the federation of mankind, which alone can solve the problems with which the war-torn world is faced.

Our Contributors

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Notes on Cedric Dover and Roy Walker have appeared in earlier issues of "*INDIA and the WORLD*."

India on the Eve of Settlement

The following article, by Mr. Hannen Swaffer, was written before the terms of agreement between the British Government and the Indian leaders were made known.

EDITORS.

Soon, the fate of India will be entirely dependent on the Indians themselves.

British overlordship will have ended so that self-government can take its place — and the whole world will watch with an eager interest, and with goodwill, one of the greatest experiments in modern history.

If India succeeds, as devoutly I trust she may, she will show an example to the whole of Asia, and by so doing, play a major part in the enfranchisement of the whole of Asia. Should she fail, she will not only set back the clock of progress many years but perhaps even find herself a battleground in which civil war will bring about the death of millions.

I hope that, in such an hour of test, she will not remember only the worst sides of British suzerainty, but try to remember that, however irksome she found it, her position in the Empire enabled her to learn from Western culture much of which she would otherwise be ignorant.

It has long been the fashion in India—it has always been so wherever a race has been subject to foreign rule—to blame the conquerors for all the ills with which she was afflicted.

The British did not invent the exploitation of the Indian masses. The native princes had wrung wealth out of the toilers long before our people arrived.

Warren Hastings may have amassed vast wealth in the Peninsula, in a few years, although he was surprised, if I remember, by his own "moderation." Native maharajahs had done so, long before he arrived. It had long been the habit of the powerful in all lands to squeeze from the many the profits of their labour.

Besides, I do not foresee that, when the British hand over the reins of government, the masses will step straight into a condition of economic liberty. Mill-owners are not less greedy if they have brown skins and not white ones.

Not did the British invent widow-burning, child marriages, leprosy, plague or famine. They did, indeed, much to end them. And they were responsible more than anyone for the spread of education, small though their efforts may have been.



Let me recall what happened when the British were conquered by the Romans in the days of Caesar. They had been split up into different Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms — Mercia, Wessex and the rest — which were divided by forests.

Under their Roman masters, they were ordered to build roads through the thick woodlands; then England became one separate colony of the Roman Empire.

When the Romans retired to defend their threatened homeland — their departure was hastened by the nationalistic Boadicea — the country reverted for a long time to its petty kingdoms, and its silly quarrelling kinglets.

But the roads remained. They still stretch from London to Bath and York.

There was left behind, the Roman law which is still the basis of our legal system, and which has since been copied by the United States and all our Dominions.

We did not like Roman rule, at the time—but it pushed us on centuries and helped us to develop from comparatively primitive tribes into the nation which was destined to hold sway over a fifth of the earth's surface.

I do not know that any hatred of Roman overlordship remains in Britain—hatred of Mussolini, yes, because of what he did at home, but not of Caesar for what he did here.

Besides, if Britain had not invaded India—France had already ruled a large portion of it—Russian or German conquerors would have done so. And I do not know that Czardom or Bismarck's "blood and iron" would have been much more acceptable to the Hindus or the Moslems than even the studied insolence of Anglo-Indian satraps who were always much more unpopular in the Baths and Harrogates to which they returned than they were in Bombay or Calcutta.

Invasion was not invented by the British. All through history, powerful tribes have been migrant, moving in search of a "breathing-space." Some have been brutal and some have been tolerant, but all were masterful, and all unpopular with those whose lands they overran.

How long is it before "foreigners" become "natives"?

The British penetrated into India in the 18th Century. But the Moslems had done it before them. Certainly, it was seven centuries earlier; but if it had been only two centuries, they would still be blamed.

If everybody had stopped at home, mankind would never have progressed.

I, no doubt, being a Man of Kent, have Roman blood in my veins. If so, I am all the better for it. The Anglo-Saxons, although they drove out the Britons, were almost certainly very stupid people.

Well, after many hundred years, the British have at last begun to learn the democratic way of life. (By the way, it was only yesterday

that I was looking at Magna Carta in the British Museum). It took us centuries after the institution of our Parliament to master the ways of government.

And it will take the Indians a long time. Liberty does not descend from the Kingdom of Heaven on a plate as a free gift. It has to be earned. It cannot be achieved except by tolerance and by a regard for minorities.

And, quite frankly, how much toleration are the Indian peoples prepared to show to each other? Adherents of their various religions seem to hate each other much more than they hate the conquering British, as much, indeed, as Catholics and Protestants loathed each other in the name of Christ in the Inquisition days.

There cannot be liberty anywhere while theological orthodoxies wrangle and fight.

How can there be peace in a land where one religion worships the cow and another hates the pig, and where the shadow of one caste is seriously considered to pollute the body of a person from whom, if only for a second, that shadow keeps away the sunlight?

I am creditably informed that, when two delegates were in London for consultations with the War Cabinet, they could not meet in the hotel rooms occupied by either. So, highly intelligent though they were, and bent on a common purpose, as their presence in the British capital proved, they could only discuss how to help defeat the Nazis in the corridor.

And only the other week, I saw a young Indian leaving one of our most exclusive hotels, holding tin pots. He was taking away the utensils in which he had carried to a high-placed maharajah food that could not be cooked inside the hotel!

Fancy, in the year 1947, some silly old prejudice about who cooks what where enslaving the life of one of the richest men in India!

A man must learn to govern his own life sanely before he can share in the government of others.

Economic freedom, not merely putting a ballot-paper in a box, is the real aim of man. And unless India's new self-government seeks to end, as rapidly as possible, an inequality of wealth that makes its potentates some of the richest men in the world, the real problem will have been evaded.

Still, baffling as India's problems may seem, I have great confidence in Pandit Nehru, a wise and enlightened statesman, who, if only because he dispossessed himself of his own caste privileges, has proved his unselfish and beneficent intentions.

He is a socialist — and only Socialism can save the world. The reason is that it believes in personal, political, religious and economic liberty. Therefore, it hates national aggrandisement, the colour bar, and all that divides peoples instead of seeking to unite them.

As a basis of eventual world unity, there is the British Commonwealth, something that Indians, in their own interest, should be glad to join. In that—not in "The Empire"—there is a freedom that, as the years progress, will grow even more great.

In its beginnings, it made many mistakes and was the cause of much injustice. But, today, it is a potentiality of infinite value. If it perished, it would be a disaster for all mankind. The stronger it becomes, the greater good can it do.

It knows, at last, that no-one black or white or brown enjoys being governed by someone else, even if the ruler is British, and that all the talk about "the brightest jewel in the crown" and "the white man's burden" was a lot of boloney. Soon, I trust, it will learn that each of the "inferior" races in its confines has something to teach the more advanced and the more powerful, and that any looking down on non-Christian religions by Rome and Canterbury is an arrogance that is out-of-date and ridiculous.

When I was young, I was taught to sing about

*"The heathen in his blindness
Bows down to wood and stone"*

and to chant how in Ceylon,

*"Though every prospect pleases
And only man is vile"*

That was as untrue as the other line about "India's coral strand."

All that self-superiority felt by Britons must go. But it must also go among Hindus and Moslems. All must learn that each has something to give and something to teach the rest.

The New World can only last if it is built on world brotherhood — mutual regard and mutual esteem.

Hanner Swaffer

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

COLOURED UNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Racial discrimination, supposedly abhorred by democratic leaders has long been a feature of life in South Africa. Many of the worst features of Nazi anti-semitism are the recognised lot of the coloured population, applying to African native and Indian alike — both are classed as "Non-Europeans" by the ruling herrenvolk. It is pleasing to read, in recent issues of our South African contemporary "**The Passive Resister**", that the movement for united action between African and Indian in the struggle against discrimination is gaining ground. In a country where a Labour Member of Parliament, Mr. H. J. Cilliers, can say: "the only way to deal with a young native is to tan his hide"; and where statements such as: "If non-Europeans intrude themselves among Europeans, throw them out on their necks . . . it is time that powerful action should come from the nation itself — and that is physical violence . . . salvation can come in various ways, but there are many occasions when a blow from the fist is a display of vitality and not of unmannerliness" (Mr. Oswald Pirow, "**Die Nuwe Orde**"), represent the attitude of the ruling power, some form of concerted action by "Non-Europeans" is essential.

Our contemporary protests strongly against the new legislation recently announced to the South African parliament by Field Marshal Smuts. Writing in "**The Passive Resister**," Mr. Rusty Bernstein states:

"The Bill provides for the registration of all African trade unions by the Government

within three months of it becoming law. Trade unions cannot be registered in the mining, agricultural or domestic service fields. It will be a criminal offence to organise any trade union which is not registered, or to collect money and organise any unregistered body for the purpose of improving workers' conditions All strikes will be illegal. All disputes will be settled by a committee of five, all appointed by the Government, and (lest something go wrong) all decisions of this committee will be subject to the Minister's approval."

If this Bill becomes law it will be among many, which make the non-European resident of South Africa subject to the Ghetto mentality of the country's rulers.

One of the places the Royal family did not visit in South Africa, we are informed, was the shanty-town district of Johannesburg where 100,000 people live in conditions which defy description. They are denied land, homes, hospitals, medical attention, sanitation, streets, lights and every other amenity of a civilised community. They are, of course, "Non-Europeans."

* * *

ABOLISHING UNTOUCHABILITY. The evil of untouchability, which has been one of the worst features of Hindu society in India for centuries, is to be abolished. A clause inserted in the Draft Constitution will free the many oppressed members of the "untouchable" classes from the stigma and degradation which the archaic hereditary caste system imposed on them. The "untouchables" have lived in squalor and misery, forced to carry out the most menial work, and refused elementary human rights. It may take a little time before the effects of the past disappear completely—just as the effects of British rule will not vanish overnight; but the death sentence of "untouchability" has been written into the Draft Constitution, and equal rights assured to all, no matter what the circumstances of their birth.

It hardly needs stating that this clause represents a great personal triumph for Gandhiji, whose campaign on behalf of the "Harijans" has been largely responsible for what he himself calls "a great revolutionary reform . . . in society." The leaders of the depressed classes too, who have pressed their case for

many years, are to be congratulated on this successful outcome of their struggle.

* * *

INDO-BRITISH CULTURAL MISSION. On the initiative of the Indian Cultural Unity Movement, in co-operation with the Vedanta Society, the Society for Cultural Fellowship with India, the League for the Federation of Mankind and the International Animal Service, an Indo-British Goodwill and Cultural Mission has been organised which, it is hoped, will arrive in India in September. The Mission will remain in India for some six months and will journey throughout the country establishing contact with all sections of the people. The objects of the Mission are.

(1) To interchange ideas and views with distinguished Indians in order to facilitate friendly contact with India at a time when she is regaining her cultural and political freedom, and to present to the Indian public the ideals and principles upheld by the organisations forming the Mission.

(2) To gain first-hand experience of the great cultures extant in India, and to study their mutual relations and their contributions towards the evolution of a cultural federation of mankind.

(3) To strengthen the relationship of cultural give and take between Indians in Britain and Indians in India.

(4) To help establish a cultural understanding between India and Britain through close association with the spiritual, cultural, social and political groups and societies in India.

The Mission will be led by Swami Avyak-tananda (founder of the Vedanta Movement in Britain and president of the Indian Cultural Unity Movement), who wrote on "Reality — the Essence of Mind and Matter" in the first issue of "INDIA and the WORLD."

It will be a great help to the organisers of the Mission, if Indians residing in Britain and English friends having connections in India will put them in touch with people likely to be interested in the cause. Those in sympathy and who are willing to help are asked to communicate with Vyvyen Jenkins and Radha Rani Borkar, joint secretaries, the Indo-British

Goodwill and Cultural Mission to India, 51,
Lancaster Gate, London, W.2.

* * *

QUISLING? A new Indian organisation has been formed in South Africa by Mr. A. I. Kajee, to act in collaboration with Field Marshal Smuts. This organisation does not represent the S. African Indian community, nor is it recognised in India. In it can be seen an attempt to form a "quisling" body, which will be recognised by the South African government as being "representative" of Indian opinion. Such a body would be extremely useful to the Smuts government in imposing more restrictions on the Indians. We mention this "organisation" because we feel that confusion may be caused if progressive opinion is not made aware of its real nature.

DOMINION STATUS FOR CEYLON. It has been announced by the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Creech Jones, that Ceylon is shortly to be given "fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations" as soon as agreements are reached with a new Singhalese Government concerning matters such as defence and foreign policy. Apparently some strings are to be attached to Ceylon's independence which will not allow her the right of secession from the Commonwealth, accorded to other British Dominions. Within limitations, however, this development will mean another step towards the ending of imperialism in the East.

Singhalese culture and civilisation date back over two thousand years, and that country had a progressive monarchy until the European invasion at the beginning of the seventeenth century. After nearly two hundred years under alternate Dutch and French rule, the island was handed over to a British fleet by the Dutch in 1795.

Edward Carpenter and the Present

by ILLIT GRÖNDAHL

In his last book, "**Light from the East**" (1927), Edward Carpenter wanted, as in his earlier and larger work, "**From Adam's Peak to Elephanta**" (1892), "to do what little one can towards bringing the two bodies of thought (Oriental and Western mentality) into touch with each other." To an observer from Norway it has appeared that intellectual life in England is at present marked by the desire for some definite, universal life-principle, for an ethical, spiritual renaissance, and that there can be no real peace till men again gather round some cause which is able to satisfy their spiritual hunger. May I suggest that, as one who reached the living sources, Edward Carpenter has something to offer here — not only to the English, but to the distracted humanity as a whole?

Carpenter's message, so deeply in harmony with that of the Indian Vedanta philosophy, is contained already in the first page of, and throughout, his "**Towards Democracy**", the strange, inspired prose-poem that he composed in the open-air in 1881, and published in

growing editions from 1883 to 1905. It was the treasure he, so to speak, turned up with his spade, as soon as he had exchanged his academic activities for out-door work, and which he spent his following life in sharing out to his fellow-men.

Like Whitman's "**Leaves of Grass**", which long puzzled and eventually much impressed Edward Carpenter, "**Towards Democracy**" is one of the helpful scriptures and good companions, to be communed with again and again. We know that he wanted, from the first, to form a direct personal link with whomsoever could respond, and **that**, the book has, during the last half century become for thousands.

The writer of these lines, who had previously published excerpts from Carpenter's works in Norwegian, tried to give his impression as succinctly as possible in a contribution to a volume "**Edward Carpenter, In Appreciation**" (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1931). With the publisher's permission I quote the following passage:

"Towards Democracy" was, we know, written down in the open air. The sun, the moon and the stars are witnesses to its words; over the grass the light air of heaven breathes through them, and the waters flow; a rare transfusion is felt of Nature and Humanity."

"The soul of man slowly transforming itself, growing, bursting through the sheaths"—this is the central theme of our 'poet of hitherto unuttered joy.' And this experience and knowledge of soul-growth to superiority over circumstance is at the back of Carpenter's subsequent prose-works. Not unlike that modern mind from the middle of the nineteenth century, Renan, he sees our civilisation as a disease, due largely to the illusion of individuality as walled-in separateness, our social life resting on the sand of thousands of tiny, separate individualities; but he sees also the rock-forming consolidation taking place. Like that firmer French master spirit, Taine, he feels man to be in the torture-chamber of a mechanical civilization, but also sees a door opening out of it. The secret of his power may be attributed in part to a fortunate combination of the scientific and the poetic mind, to the rare faculty of looking analytically and seeing synthetically.

"In his life and work Edward Carpenter stands among those poets whom the Norwegian Wergeland asked for, who idealise in order to realise—genuinely anarchists who would see the law with which society is built, not engraved in tablets of bronze or stone, but lived—as it is dictated by humanity itself—into mind and muscle. With Wergeland, to whom the world was the hollow hand of Omnipotence, with room to move about in, Carpenter saw the time when 'every human being shall have a throne within his brain and in his heart an altar and sacred vessels, when everyone is a king to the earth and a priest to God.' And whether in the light of his original revelation he reaches 'The Art of Creation' or unrolls 'The Drama of Love and Death', the natural ease and directness of Carpenter's style turns the reading into that personal contact which from the first he wanted to establish."

The older among us no doubt feel that our estimate of humanity and our hopes for the future are at present less high than they were some years ago. And the question keeps returning: how are we to rise and proceed again? The ancient codes and scriptures, round which congresses of faiths gather, remain, with their

more or less discordant teachings. It is possible that man's increasing knowledge of himself will help him to understand and utilize them also more satisfactorily. But one could surely wish a both wider and deeper attention to be paid to those seers whose visions are preserved in the spiritual storehouse of general literature. They can help us to interpret the vast revelation of Nature, and through it man himself. They can help individually, but with far greater effect all together, till it shall have become generally recognised and manifest that—as a recent Norwegian writer puts it: **true poetry is the latest news from Heaven.** To my mind the most important and hopeful fact in the troubled, and chaotic scene of the present is the joint message of essential religion and great poetry, which is being confirmed by philosophy and science. **Psychology**—the last of sciences, which Carpenter maintained should have been the first—is on the track.

Fundamentally the vision of the seers is **one**. Liberated from the tight and narrow cell of self-consciousness, they are united with the Whole. "You are that Whole which Nature also is—and yet you are that Whole in your own peculiar way," says Edward Carpenter.

Psycho-analysis emphasises the vast **unconscious**, the ID (Latin for it), comprising also the lower animal and vegetable worlds, we may wonder if not, somehow, also the inorganic. In a similar way we might use the pronoun IS (Latin for he) to stand for the common human self-consciousness, which knows its own experience and itself. A third and higher stage, which might be represented by the feminine, EA, derives from a reunion of the two former: "I will arise and go to my father." Those of the "open secret society of the mystics." (James Thomson, B.V.) who have experienced this third stage, with its combination of the scope and the at-home-feeling together with the definition of the second, of one accord declare it to be high raised over ordinary awareness. **Self-consciousness** might be compared to the surface of the earth, on which we carry on our more or less pedestrian daily lives,—the **unconscious** to the vaster ocean and the depths below, from which we draw some of the wealth and variety of life-forms past and present. The **third stage** would then be like the still vaster illumined, live-giving atmosphere. As Thoreau observed, it is godlike to wholly awake; it is most nearly godlike to be as awake as a mortal can be.

Continued on Page 18, Col. 2

CHRISTOPHER BRUNEL writes on

The Modern Stage of India

A GREAT PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

"The men of culture are the true apostles of equality."

Matthew Arnold.

Early in 1942 a handful of men and women with bright ideas started something in Bombay. Their aim was to build a theatre movement for the ordinary working people of India. The country was beginning to awaken to the call of Independence and the people should therefore be reminded of their rich inheritance of culture. This worthy ideal spurred on these zealous enthusiasts of Bombay, and after much careful plotting and planning—and a good deal of sacrifice—the Indian Peoples Theatre Association proudly presented at the Damodar Thackersey Hall of Bombay on May Day 1942 at 8 p.m. a free showing of the Marathi play, **"Dada"**!

The audience consisted of one press reporter—that was all. Our well-meaning optimists had learned their first lesson—that the workers of Bombay cannot manage to go off to the theatre at 8 p.m. Working class people have other commitments, such as preparing the meal, looking after the children and dozens of other chores. But this little incident, fortunately, had a happy ending. Two hours later, when the day's routine had ended, the Damodar Thackersey Hall was packed tight with working people, engrossed in a thought-provoking play, the story of which was that of an ordinary mill-worker, typical of many of the hundreds of mill-workers in the audience—a play with a theme hitherto hardly ever broached by the traditional Marathi stage, and considered too mundane to be enjoyable.

That, briefly, is the tale of the birth of the Indian Peoples Theatre Association, which has now become a big movement, covering the whole of India. And this little tale has a significant moral, which the organisers of the I.P.T.A. took to heart with characteristic honesty. The people's culture is not an intellectual plaything that can be taken up at any time of the day. On the contrary, it must be attuned in all its aspects to the habits,

customs, feelings, occupations—yes, and politics—of working men and women. All this is succinctly expressed in I.P.T.A.'s simple slogan, **"The Peoples Theatre Stars The People."**

The history of how in the space of five short years I.P.T.A. has become not just an institution confined to the big cities, but an all-India movement with very wide influence, may be told by recounting some of the spectacular



Copyright: Homi Sethna
Shanti Bardhan, the I.P.T.A. Dance Director, in a pose from his solo movements in **"Chaturango."**

successes such as the performance of **"Zubaidah"** by Khwaja Ahmad Abbas to over 15,000 people on Kamgar Maidan in Bombay early in 1945, or the production of the full-length feature film, **"Dharti-Ke-Lal"** (Child-

ren of the Earth"), a joint effort by all the branches of the Association under the able direction of K. A. Abbas in 1945-6.

I think I can best describe I.P.T.A.'s remarkable rise by showing the varied nature of its activities and the varied types of people who comprise the organisation. The performances range from many traditional classics of Indian folk-lore to modern plays with a political twist by international authors, such as **"Waiting for Lefty"** by Clifford Odets, **"You Can't Take It With You"** by Moss Hart and George Kauffman, and **"They Came to a City"** by England's J. B. Priestley. Amongst those actively associated with the work of the Association are the famous novelist, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, the well-known dancers, Uday Shanker and Ram Gopal, as well as Binoy Roy, Trade Union Organiser in the jute industry, and Dashrathlal, a tram conductor from Calcutta, who has made a name for himself as a composer of folk-songs of Bihar. Thus diverse collection is ably supported by hard working groups of little-known dancers, musicians and stage-hands.

Plays are performed in the major Indian languages — Hindustani, Marathi, Bengali, Gujarati, Telegu, Tamil, Malayam and Kanarese — as well as in English. Audiences are in the main composed of unknown workers, but celebrities who have enjoyed I.P.T.A. shows have included Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, and the late well-loved Bhulabhai Desai.

The Indian Peoples Theatre attracts both seasoned professionals and keen amateurs into its ranks, and all of them, whether men or women, work in complete harmony. Should any staunch supporter of Imperialism happen to be reading this copy of **"INDIA and the WORLD,"** let me make a point of saying what, no doubt, will be taken for granted by regular readers. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees, Jews, Christians — and all the others work together quite happily in this organisation, and communal differences never seem to crop up. Quite the reverse is the case for in many instances the Peoples Theatre makes a positive contribution to the cause of communal tolerance.

I can recall a very moving sequence in **"Dharti-Ka-Lal"**, the film that I.P.T.A. produced about the ghastly Bengal famine of 1943-44. Forced from their farms by the ravages of Nature, the villagers set forth for an already over-crowded Calcutta to seek help.

On the way to the city the old and feeble stumble and fall—some get up again but others are left to die. One very poignant scene is where the head of a Hindu family falls and cannot recover, but the old sturdy Muslim next to him picks him up and carries him on his back all the way to Calcutta, not thinking of him as a Hindu or a Muslim, but simply as a fallen friend in need.

The stage performances have provided an invaluable means of raising funds for famine relief and other worthy causes, such as for the dependents of the devastating Bombay dock explosion of 1944. In all, the I.P.T.A. has raised the magnificent sum of over two lakhs of rupees, (£15,000). This is even more remarkable when one realises that by its nature the Indian Peoples Theatre is not a wealthy organisation, since it does not pander to the feelings of the rich in the way that the theatre generally does in Western countries. The "capital assets" of the theatre movement lie in the innate talent for acting possessed by Indians, and the great technical skill of I.P.T.A.'s dancers, musicians and writers, not to mention the almost infinite fund of classical folk-lore and legend which comprises the nation's treasury of culture.

So many of the performances organised by the I.P.T.A. are informal shows given in far-flung villages by travelling showmen. No stage, no back-cloth are needed for the ever-popular **Tamashas**, (village operas), **Powadas**, (stories in song performed by a leader and two or three singing musicians) and **Lok-Geet**, (community singing).

The remarkable thing about Indian culture generally, is that for three thousand years it has remained untainted by foreign influences. The invasions by Persians, Greeks, Scythians, and Muhammadans have not interfered with the natural growth of India's culture. While I do not believe that the coming of British Imperialism to India, which has brought so much soulless industrialisation in its wake, has succeeded in repressing any forms of Indian native culture, at the same time there is no doubt in my mind that the advent of Independence will bring about a great cultural revival in the land. Already the struggles for **Swaraj** are producing much fine and serious work in the theatre and in the realm of art that cannot be lightly dismissed as mere "propaganda". An example of this is to be seen in **"India**

Immortal", a ballet of epic proportions, which has met with such outstanding success throughout the length and breadth of India. Starting with ancient history, the ballet depicts briefly the early worship of the Himalayas, the colourful spring festival of Holi, and the prosperity

one of the first things that struck me, and it is, I am sure a very healthy sign.

And so it is only natural that Indian entertainment should have a political flavour. At the same time as I.P.T.A.'s **"India Immortal"**



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"Holi", the dance based on the Spring Festival - performed in the open air without any stage settings

in the land; but after a time a foreign Magician arrives on a large ship and by a combination of double dealing and charm he gains complete control of the country. The moral of this is plain enough, but the ballet is no less entertaining because of the introduction of a political theme.

In spite of the terrific upheaval of a World War, there is still a feeling in places like Britain and America that such things as the cinema and the theatre should be free from "controversial issues." The apostles of escapist entertainment often do not realise that their smooth and glittering escapism is one of the most powerful political weapons—of a negative kind.

But Indians are not so easily taken in—they are well and truly and unashamedly politically conscious. As a traveller in India, that was

was running in Bombay, Prithvi Theatres were nearing the eighteenth month of performing **"Dcewar"** (**"The Wall"**), a highly controversial play, touching on the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. The basis of the story is a symbolical treatment of the current problem of Pakistan. **"The Wall"** is the barrier of Pakistan which seeks to divide Indian against Indian.

Although the I.P.T.A. is almost alone in the field of Indian theatre on an all-India scale, it would be ungracious not to say more here about the work of Prithvi Theatres. This organisation was formed in 1944 by the film star, Prithviraj, in an attempt to establish a permanent theatre of the Hindustani language in Bombay. Sinking his own money into the scheme, Prithviraj first presented the famous classic **"Shakuntala"**, but this proved to be a financial failure. Boldly risking more of his

own earnings, Prithviraj launched "Deewar," and was immediately rewarded with success.

Prithviraj and his Theatre can be regarded as pioneers in Bombay, because they are the only resident theatrical company in the whole of that vast city. Even the ubiquitous Indian Peoples Theatre only pays occasional visits to Bombay's theatre-land.

The latest arrival on the scene of the Indian theatre is the two year old Indian National Theatre; this is another all-India organisation whose work supplements that of the I.P.T.A. and which hopes to build up its strength during the coming struggles for freedom.

The role of a Peoples Theatre in a free India will be an important one. Being so broad in outlook and so wide in coverage, the I.P.T.A. and the I.N.T. are both ideally suited to the

terrific task of spreading new ideas and fresh concepts amongst the people, never forgetting the vital function of simple entertainment, which in times of stress is classified as "maintenance of morale."

I would like very much to see the I.P.T.A. arrange a World Tour of its Central Cultural Troupe—if India could spare it! This section of the Association specialises in keeping alive the classical Indian music, and the many varied forms of folk-art in song and dance and also presenting topical problems in ballet form. Such a tour would do us Westerners a power of good. Because eighty-five per cent of all Indians are illiterate, we are inclined to consider ourselves as vastly superior beings. With such a terrific handicap—not to mention the ghastly ravages of almost perpetual malnutrition—India can still teach us much about the art of living.

THE EURASIAN ROLE

by CEDRIC DOVER

Mahatma Gandhi has said that the Eurasians of India should be among the leaders of their country. That was more than a generation ago, when I was a boy and the Congress Movement had just entered the last phase. I did not comprehend the struggle around me, but his words took root and threw up shoots of enquiry on the rôle of intermediate communities in the tensions of politics and human evolution.

I recall them now because that rôle, often obscured by the heavy paternalism of British "responsibility", has always been important and is still more important in the East today. Why it is important is implicit in the Eurasian story, which begins with Albuquerque and unfolds itself in the calculated encouragement of the growth of a buffer community, first in keeping with Catholic policy, later 'in imitation of ye olde Dutch politiks', and finally, in the words of the astute Lord Canning, as 'a source of strength to British rule and of usefulness to India.'

It is a story of privileges without equality, of the deliberate creation of a loyal servant class. The Eurasians supplied the cogs which

worked the official machine, the manpower for the strategic services of police government, and the 'second line of defence' for imperialist adventures. Their masters in return gave them an almost hereditary interest in the bureaucratic circus.

This is one aspect of the importance of Eurasians in India, for the usefulness recognised by the British can be still more useful to a free India. There is another which is too vaguely appreciated. The Eurasians are marginal men, that is to say they live on the margins of two or more cultures, moving from one to the other with greater facility and fewer inner reservations than so-called pure-breds. These circumstances condition an increased adaptability and impartiality, a larger awareness of 'the something we call Human,' which confirmed Lord Olivier's belief that 'the hybrid is potentially a more competent vehicle of humanity.'

This potentiality, in the vast inequalities of colonialism, is often stimulated by educational and other opportunities, which lead men of two worlds to choose one and strive for its improvement. They seek to convert privileges into

rights and, learning that minority rights can never be other than privileges, ally themselves with the upsurge of the majority. It has happened many times before — in the mulatto revolts of Haiti and elsewhere in the Caribbean, in the Grant and Riel Rebellions of the mid-nineteenth century in Canada, and the comparatively recent Mau Demonstrations of Samoa. It will happen many times again.

Moreover, as imperialism must destroy what it creates, the needs of expansion are met, not by increased intermarriage and more bounties, but by the cultural hybridisation of the natives. They are taught the language and ideas of the ruling class and released on the labour market, where they loosen privileged holds and multiply to the point of supply exceeding demand. The displaced Eurasians blame their competitors and appeal frantically for protection; but belly-wisdom eventually teaches both that they are the victims of a system.

Therefore, the tendency of an intermediate group under imperialism is towards closer alliance with the oppressed, apart from giving them leadership at various stages. Long periods of reliance on the ruling class, complicated by touching appeals to filial duty and Christian observance, might confuse the process, but in the end it is inevitable. Viscount Valentia spoke with some claim to ungrateful prophecy when he told the East India Company in 1806 that 'The most rapidly accumulating evil of Bengal is the increase of half-caste children. They are forming the first step to colonisation by creating a link of union between the English and the natives. In every country where this intermediate caste has been permitted to rise, it has ultimately tended to its ruin . . . With numbers in their favour, with a close relationship to the natives, what may not in future time be dreaded from them?' The time has come.

The political significance of the Eurasians in India, and of similar 'mixed breeds' elsewhere, does not end here. It has been stated by some, and apprehended by many, that "race mixture" must be a major factor in the growth of internationalism. Today vast changes in the balance of power are giving these generalisations a practical meaning.

Naturally it is in Asia that the enzymes of oppression have produced the most potent wine of federation. The Japanese got drunk on it,

but others have used it with moderation. In India, the pressure of circumstances, and the inner knowledge that India was really a series of potential republics confined to the country only by an artificial political geography, focussed attention on the possibility of an Eastern federation, including China, the whole Indo-Malayan region and its associated islands, and extending to obviously necessary intimacy with its neighbours. These nations come within a definite geographical unity in which distance has been reduced by speedier communications. They share, too, an overall community of culture and purpose, in spite of striking differences, cemented further by the feeling of similarity that comes from comparable levels of oppression and economic development.

The enlargement of these snapshots will indicate that, outside Latin America, there is no firmer foundation for extending socialist federation than there is in Asia. Such federation would represent, as Jawaharlal Nehru says in *The Unity of India* (1941), 'a powerful combination of free nations joined together for their own good as well as for the world good. Power would not be merely power, but something else also, which they have represented through these long ages. It is time, therefore, in this fateful period of the breakdown of empires, that we thought in terms of this Eastern federation and worked for it deliberately . . . never forgetting that it is a step towards the large world federation.' Nehru himself has worked for this ideal as deliberately as he has asked others to do. One of his first acts in the changing political climate of post-war India was to sponsor the Inter-Asian Congress, which might germinate the most memorable events of our time.

In those events the importance of the Eurasian communities throughout the East depends on their own unity. They resemble each other closely in origins, culture, religion, language, domestic habits, economic conditions and organisation as national minorities. Indeed, in Stalin's definition of a nation as 'a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture', the English-speaking Eurasians (and most of them speak English) could lay much claim to cohesive national status. Their federation, through their political organisations, would smooth the larger concept by broadening contacts and viewpoints. They are the natural interpreters of Asiatic unity.

BOOKS

Free People of Central India

by J. K. BOSE

THE PARDHANS OF THE UPPER NARBADA VALLEY. *Shamrao Hivale.* With a foreword by Verrier Elwin. 230 pp. Illustrated. Oxford University Press for MAN IN INDIA. London: Cumberlege. 20s.

This monograph is the outcome of 13 years' close acquaintance with the Pardhans of the Upper Narbada Valley by Mr. Shamrao Hivale. The writer has not only lived amongst them, but has taken an active interest in various phases of their life "as their doctor, teacher, magistrate, champion, and above all as their friend."

The Pardhans are a branch of the great Gond tribe comprising 4 per cent of the whole tribe. They are scattered in small colonies throughout the Central Provinces and Berar and in some of the neighbouring states.

The villages of the Pardhans are not properly planned and the houses are crowded together with one or two main paths. Their houses are much smaller than those of the Gonds, and are like temporary shelters, as the owners are never sure when they may move to the next village. Moreover, it is suggested that the Pardhans are very lazy and like to indulge more in dancing and idle talk than in work.

In the old days they were probably the official genealogists of the Gond Court and acted as priests and diviners. Their women used to perform the function of midwives to the Gonds and they tattooed the Gond girls.

The Pardhans were always economically dependent on the Gond Tribe, and after the fall of the Gond kingdoms their conditions became worse and they were driven to crime.

The relation between the Pardhans and the Gonds is seen most clearly in the institution of the **Mangteri**. This is a visit by the Pardhans, every third year, to the Gonds of the same clan as themselves. This is rather a collection of dues, the realisation of a debt or the inheritance of a rightful share of property from a near relation. The Pardhans play such an important part in the general social order of the Gonds that if they do not visit them at the accepted time, the Gonds become uneasy.

It is also considered inauspicious if the **Bana** of **Bara Pen** is not played in a Gond's house once every third year.

In social life complete freedom is given to both boys and girls before marriage and they begin their sex life too early. In some cases children of four or five years indulge in erotic play together, and most boys and girls have their first experiences long before puberty. The absence of dormitories for the unmarried, as among other tribes, and sleeping with the parents in the same house, has its bad effects on the children.

The Pardhan woman's sexual freedom within the tribe is more or less socially recognised, but she never gives the impression of being loose or immoral. Perhaps it is because she does not sell her favours for money. As a mother she is affectionate, careful and industrious, and plays all the roles of teacher, playmate, washerwoman, sweeper and inseparable companion to her baby.

Marriages among the Pardhans are always arranged by the parents. This does not mean that a boy or a girl is going to spend his or her life with the partner chosen by the family. In many cases, this official formal marriage is only a prelude to a life of romantic adventure. But after a few experiments the man sometimes finds a suitable girl and becomes faithful to her.

After death the soul is spoken of as going to **Bhagavan**, or returning to the house to be reborn in a child, or haunting the village as an angry and dissatisfied ghost. The dead are regarded as continuing to play a part in human affairs. The ancestral dead are easily offended, and if they find that they have not received proper attention, they show their displeasure by sending diseases and misfortunes upon a house or village. For this reason offerings are made on all the chief occasions of life, in honour of the dead and, after the **Kunda** ceremony, it is the special duty of the **Pujari's** wife to offer something daily for all the dead of her clan.

The religion of the Pardhans has adopted many of the gods and heroes of the Hindu religion, side by side with Gond traditions contained in the Gondwani songs, but it has

"lost the beauty and excitement of the old orgiastic animist religion" and has become dull and spiritless. The chief god of the tribe is **Bara Pen**, who is, on the whole, a good and useful god. His traditional abode is the forest, in the Saja tree. But for the Pardhans he has a nearer and more familiar home, in his special portable temple, the sacred **Bana** fiddle. The presence of **Bara Pen** in this fiddle protects the Pardhan wherever he goes. **Bara Pen** is associated mainly with the ancestors of the tribe and his worship is performed every five years or so at the time of the New Eating Festival, when the first rice-crop is reaped and eaten.

There is fear, but little reverence, in the Pardhan's attitude towards his gods. One of the most remarkable elements in his religious psychology is his readiness to abuse, not only the minor troublesome deities, but even **Bhagavan** himself, the supreme arbiter of life and death.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI by G. N. Dhawan, M.A., Ph.D. Popular Book Depot, Bombay. 1946. Rs. 8/8.

In the West political thought and action have largely broken away from religious sanctions. The totalitarian countries have produced rigid political philosophies of their own, the less systematic and more liberal democracies still cling to some of the traditional values.

The practical politician is expected to pursue not the welfare of mankind at large but the advantage of his own nation-state in particular. No doubt he is expected to assert, and if possible believe, that the two are identical. But nowadays few intelligent people are naive enough to suppose that 3,000 calories in Birmingham, 1,500 in Berlin and 1,200 in Bombay is the economic equation appropriate to a moral imperative of doing unto others as we would have them do unto us. Unjustifiable inequalities are not a modern phenomenon; it is the assertion of sectional or national self-interest as a legitimate aspiration that we are here concerned with.

One consequence of the secularist trend in Western politics, and of the face-saving pietism in which almost no one believes, is incredulity — even in well-informed circles — about the possibility of practical politics on any other

basis. Indeed, the general trend of political thought and action in Asia does not give ground for extravagant hopes of a higher political wisdom in the East, and it is not surprising that Mr. Gandhi despite an impressive record of half a century's practice, should still be regarded with the same scepticism. A writer in a recent issue of the Chatham House periodical **International Affairs**, reviewing my biography of Gandhi, imputed to me an excess of piety and would himself "be content to accept Mr. Gandhi's own definition of himself as 'a politician trying to be a saint, not a saint trying to be a politician.'" And so the legend is perpetuated.

This evaluation is, I believe, exactly the one that most English public men would make of Gandhi. No one, they are convinced, could have got into the front rank of large scale politics, achieved so much personal publicity over half a century and had so large a say in the destinies of a sub-continent without launching into the corrupted currents of this world.

Whether the words attributed to Gandhi are correctly quoted I do not know; they are said to be the version reported by an American journalist some twenty years ago. But the impression they give is exactly opposite to Gandhi's position as he has repeatedly expressed it in such words as these:

"I enter politics only in so far as it develops the religious faculty in me. The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I seem to take part in politics it is only because politics encircle us today like the coil of a snake from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries."

The words attributed to Gandhi by the American journalist are not, despite one's first impression to the contrary, incompatible with this affirmation. If Gandhi is correctly quoted he probably meant to discount the description of him as "a saint in politics" by emphasizing that he claimed no saintly authority for his political pronouncements, only that he subjected all his political decisions and activities to the criteria of his spiritual awareness and beliefs.

The great merit of the painstaking study of Mahatma Gandhi's Political Philosophy which has now been made by Dr. Dhawan of Luck-

now University is that it establishes these fundamentals beyond all doubt and question. Indeed the title does, in one way, do some injustice to the treatise. The reader will find here the whole of Gandhi's basic philosophy. Admirable chapters on Gandhi's spiritual and cultural predecessors, in the West as well as the East, on his metaphysical convictions and his general doctrine of ends and means, precede those dealing with personal conduct, corporate and revolutionary action, and the structure of the non-violent State, subjects that we are more accustomed to consider under the heading of political philosophy.

But, of course, Dr Dhawan is doubly right. No political philosophy is worthy of the name if it has not faced these ultimate questions, and assuredly no description of Gandhi's philosophy is adequate or even intelligible unless it expounds the religious foundations on which the whole structure rests.

The difference between a religious philosophy of politics and the secular philosophies of Western politics is the difference between non-violence and violence. Just because Gandhi has brought the grave issues of large-scale contemporary politics to the test of the well-nigh universal spiritual imperative that the highest duty is to return good for evil, Dr. Dhawan is right in demanding our attention to his philosophy as **"the most original contribution of India to political thought and political practice."**

The constructive programme and the revolutionary strategy have always been twin pillars of Gandhi's system, so that proficiency in the first has been made the qualification for participation in the latter. Not the least interesting chapter in this book is the one in which Gandhi's constructive activities are interpreted as a foreshadowing of **"The Structure of the Non-Violent State."** Gandhi is elsewhere described as **"a philosophical anarchist because he believes that this end (the greatest good of all) can be realised only in the classless and Stateless democracy of autonomous village communities based on non-violence instead of coercion, on service instead of exploitation, on renunciation instead of acquisitiveness and on the largest measure of local and individual initiative instead of centralization."** Gandhi's **"Quit India"** in 1942 was an appeal to Britain to abandon India to anarchy. The policy that was received with horror then is accepted now

as the only practical one. Quit India is now the policy of the British Government.

But it is in non-violence, a principle valid universally if valid anywhere, that Gandhi has made his greatest contribution to world civilisation, has proclaimed what is surely the only conceivable alternative to the atom bomb. As Dr. Dhawan writes, **"In group relations, even more than individual life, conflicts and violence have become chronic today and threaten the very existence of civilised life. In satyagraha Gandhiji has given to the world a technique for fighting, in a creative, constructive way, aggression and exploitation in inter-group and international relations."**

Dr. Dhawan's scholarly work provides the text-book for that creative, constructive way, so far as it can be mapped in systematic exposition, and the thesis that emerges is as revolutionary as, and more important than, Marx's, the spiritual counterpart of that epoch-making proclamation of human equality in material things. Its impact on Western thought may yet prove to be decisive intellectual advance of the twentieth century. It completes, as Blake would have done, the circle of intuition: **"Religion is politics; and politics is brotherhood."**

ROY WALKER

Edward Carpenter

(Continued from Page 10, Col. 2)

Let Edward Carpenter speak again: "O freed Soul! Soul that has completed its relation to the body! O soaring, happy beyond words, into other realms passing, salutations to you, freed, redeemed soul!"

To sum up: Out of deepest sorrow and anguish, freedom at last! Life deep as the world itself; joy arising from the earth through all its drudgeries, joy swelling to the sky and reaching to the stars, the gates thrown wide open through the universe; God in His world and all verily well with it,— this initial blast of his strange, prophetic poem, from within and far beyond creeds and congresses, confirmed by the burden of mystic song through the ages—through the chaotic gloom of today—this seems to me to be the gist of Edward Carpenter's message.

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INDIA and the WORLD

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TO OUR READERS

In view of the division of India into the two Dominions of Pakistan and India, it is necessary for us to re-define the purpose of INDIA and the WORLD.

Division politically was, at this stage, perhaps inevitable. In any case partition is now a reality that must be faced. It is to be hoped that the leaders of the two Dominions will find the practice of co-operation, in the many different spheres where this will be necessary, an inducement to return, eventually, to the federally United India that was suggested in our last issue as a means of solving the question of unity.

As far as INDIA and the WORLD is concerned, as a mainly cultural magazine, the policy will remain that which was stated in the first issue. Insofar as political articles are concerned its columns will remain open to all men of goodwill who feel they have a contribution to make towards the resettlement of world affairs on the basis of peace and security. The magazine is not a party organ, and the viewpoints expressed in the numbers already published, by a variety of contributors, are a demonstration of its independence.

The main purpose of INDIA and the WORLD, however, is not to provide an open political forum, but to develop knowledge and understanding of Indian life and culture, and to attempt, in this way, to bring about a cultural synthesis between East and West. When we speak of "Indian" life, or "Indian" culture, we are not concerned primarily with that of the Moslems, Hindus, or any other community. Geographically India is one. Each of her many peoples and religions has made a contribution to her great storehouse of art, literature, drama and music. The philosophy

of the great Hindu and Islamic scholars, the writings of Tagore and Iqbal are part of the cultural gift which India has given to humanity.

The magazine will not concern itself with the sectional differences between the different Indian communities, but will continue in its attempt to bring to the attention of its readers the cultural and sociological advances that have been made by all.

Culturally, at least, political frontiers can be crossed. The richness of Indian culture, and the interchange of ideas will continue between the two Dominions.

The aim of INDIA and the WORLD will be to mirror the situation, especially on the cultural field, and it needs the collaboration of all who have these ends at heart and are prepared to work for the social and cultural unity, not of India alone, but of humanity as a whole.

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Our Contributors

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Notes on S. Goswami, H. S. L. Polak, and the Very Rev. W. R. Inge have appeared in previous issues of **INDIA** and the **WORLD**.

ARTHUR C. MARCH. Vice-president of the Buddhist Society, London. Founder, and for some years editor, of the magazine **Buddhism in England**, now **The Middle Way**. Compiled **A Buddhist-Bibliography**, which lists nearly 2,200 works and articles on Buddhism; also **An Analysis of the Pali Canon**, and **A Brief Glossary of Buddhist Terms**, all of which were published by the Buddhist Society, London.

BRIGADIER MICHAEL WARDELL. Served on Admiral Mountbatten Staff in S.E. A.C. He is Chairman of Country and Sporting Publications Ltd, Publishers of the recently revived Town and Country magazine, the oldest British journal

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING IN PALESTINE.

The report of a delegation led by Dr. T. G. Shirname (Deputy Agricultural Marketing Advisor, Government of India) which was sent to Palestine last year, to study the methods of co-operative farming in that country, has just been published. The report deals with the improvements made in agricultural practice on the Jewish collectives, showing the means employed for soil fertility maintenance, control of soil erosion, drainage of swampy land and reclamation of salty land, crop rotation, etc. A number of recommendations are made for the application of Palestinian collective methods to Indian conditions. It is suggested that although co-operative effort with regard to a particular line of farm activity is not unknown to Indian agriculture, these efforts have not been more widely applied mainly because the number of societies organised is small, and in most cases they aim at co-operation only in one or two lines of farming activity. These experiments should be developed on a wider scale,

where then members could form a commune of their own, not only for joint agricultural production, but also for marketing and undertaking other social and economic activities.

The establishment of small demonstration units is recommended, and it is also suggested that landless labourers might be settled on state or other available land. Co-operative farming in areas already occupied would not be a feasible proposition, because the conditions under which land is held and exploited are not favourable. It should, however, be possible to introduce co-operative effort with regard to some economic activities — for instance co-operative marketing, which should be linked with credit, so that farmers would not be forced to go to money-lenders. The training and experience in running a marketing co-operative would be of the utmost importance for extending co-operation with the ultimate object of organising co-operative production and marketing. To make the scheme practicable from the economic and organisational

view-points, the Report recommends a whole district as a good economic unit.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION. The Government of India have set up an All-India Council for Technical Education. In order to attain a uniformly high standard of education and examination throughout the country, the All-India Council has established six All-India Boards of Technical Studies in the following main branches of Engineering and Technology: Engineering and Metallurgy, Architecture and Regional Planning, Chemical Engineering and Chemical Technology, Textile Technology, Applied Art, and Commerce and Business Administration.

UNESCO TO TRANSLATE INDIAN CLASSICS. Hindu and Chinese classics are to be translated into Western languages, under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The Department of Philosophy and Humanities of UNESCO has asked the Institute of Chinese High Studies at the Sorbonne University in Paris for their help in preparing a list of Oriental classics requiring translation, and for a list of translators.

NINTH CENTURY FIND IN BIHAR. Thirty-three bronze images of Jain **tirthankaras** (religious leaders), twenty-five stone images and two **singhasanas** (pedestals) all of Jain origin, which date back to before the ninth century A.D., have been unearthed in the village of Mehuda in the district of Munbhum, Bihar.

All the images are less than three feet in height, differing in their poses, and are male figures executed in the nude in the traditional Jain style. One of them however, is considered to be unique, as it represents a female figure in stone.

The founder of Jainism was Vardhamana Mahavira, 599-527 B.C. Its chief religious centre is Mt. Abu in Rajputana. Mahavira preached a monastic religion which enjoined his followers to lead a simple life bordering on asceticism.

The Jains today are a small but wealthy community residing largely in Gujerat and Rajputana. Recently, however, there have been efforts at reviving Jainism. There is a scheme to preserve Jain scriptures in marble at Palitana in Kathiawar, and in copper in Surat, Bombay. The first monument in Palitana has been completed, and the temple houses over

500 slabs of marble on which are inscribed important Jain religious books.

The foundation stone of the proposed Surat temple was laid last month. It will house 45 complete books, containing about 90,000 verses in copper reliefs, and is expected to cost over Rs. 700,000.

THYAGARAJA CENTENARY. An interesting centenary this year, is that of the death of the Carnatic poet of South India, Thyagaraja. India Old and New, a Government of India publication, devoting a front-page article to this great mystic poet, writes.

"Thyagaraja portrayed human experience in simple, elegant language. Out of sounds, he raised 'rampired walls of gold as transparent as glass,' till the pinnacled glory of the soul is reached. His songs are full of devotional fervour, rich with poetic splendour, each packed with lofty wisdom. He showed that music is a divine art capable of realising the Ultimate Reality.

"Thyagaraja was a mystic coming in the line of Jayadev, Tulsidas, Kabir, Meera and Tukaram, who are sung in Indian homes to this day. He felt that music was the most appropriate medium for conveying sublime thoughts to the masses. Altogether, it is believed, he composed 24,000 songs in 80 years of his life, but not all of them have been collected and published, only 2,000 are available to the public.

"Incidents in the life of Rama, the hero in the Hindu epic **Ramayana**, supplied Thyagaraja with inspiration for most of his songs; he used this great Hindu epic in the same way as Shakespeare used Holinshed's **Chronicles**, colouring little incidents with his imaginative genius. . . .

"The first half of the nineteenth century, when he composed most of his songs, was the golden age of Carnatic music. The Marhatta rulers of Tanjore, Tulsaji and Saraboji, patronised the arts.

INDIA AND INDONESIA. The Government of India, within a short time of the renewed Dutch aggression in Indonesia, made urgent representations to Britain and the United States to try to end the fighting. India did not make a direct offer of mediation, as it was felt that such an offer would be rejected by the Dutch authorities. Pandit Nehru spoke, on July 22nd, of "an attack by an imperialist Power on a friendly nation," and said that India would help those endeavouring to achieve their freedom.

ARDHANARI

By

C. Rajagopalachari

Ardhanari was a Harijan boy from the village of Kokkalai in Salem district. He went to Delhi with Sri Malkani, Secretary of the Society for the Service of the Untouchables. When Sri Malkani was in South India, he was very pleased with this boy, whom he met at Salem, and immediately decided to take him to Delhi with him. There he put him in a school and looked after him. He spoke to a well-known firm of traders in Delhi and got him a job in their office on sixty rupees a month. As Ardhanari was honest, diligent and had personality, he got on well. He was getting Rs. 150 per month before he was twenty-four, and when, some time later, a place in a big mill belonging to the same firm fell vacant in Bangalore, they sent Ardhanari there on a salary of Rs. 200 a month.

He spent two happy years in Bangalore. His immediate senior, Govinda Rao, had training in Manchester for two years. He and Ardhanari were of about the same age, and as he liked Ardhanari's disposition and manners, they became close friends.

Govinda Rao had a sister called Pankaja. Brother and sister loved each other very much. Their parents had died when the girl was just ten years old, and she was now twenty and unmarried. She and Ardhanari often met as she accompanied her brother when he visited Ardhanari and when the latter came to see her brother. When Govinda Rao found that his sister and Ardhanari seemed to like each other, he was glad. He often asked himself: "Why should not these two marry and settle down here?"

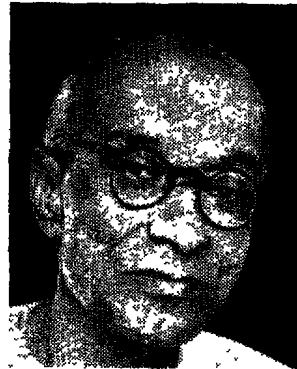
One day Govinda asked his sister, "Pankaja, have you ever thought about your marriage?" "I have no strong feelings on the matter," she replied. "Then, what about marrying our Ardhanari?" Pankaja showed no objection to being thus questioned, but she evaded the question by talking about something else. Some weeks later, the same matter was broached again, incidentally.

"Why Gopu, are you tired of me already? Am I a burden to you?" she said at first and

laughed. Then she began to cry. Girls, especially those who have lost their mothers, are very sensitive.

"Stupid, don't talk of being a burden or of my getting tired of you. Just tell me if you care for the idea of marriage. If you say no, that will please me, because then I can always

have you with me," he said and wiped her eyes. Then he said again, "Mother is dead. Who else is there but me to enquire and learn from you what you feel about it?"



"If it comes about, I shall go through with it. But what is the point in discussing

it now?" asked Pankaja.

"You two seem to like each other. And as we have left off caring about caste or family, why should you not marry him?" he asked.

"What indeed have we to do with caste? But we do not yet know what he feels about it," said Pankaja.

"Don't worry about that. He must think himself very lucky if he gets someone like you for his wife," said Govinda Rao. He was sure there was no one to compare with his sister in the whole world.

When Ardhanari was told about this, his joy knew no bounds. But a minute later his face fell. "But how can that be, Govinda Rao?" he said.

"Why? What is the trouble?" asked Govinda Rao.

"What is my caste and what is yours?" said Ardhanari.

"Oh! The question of caste! Nonsense!" Govinda Rao exclaimed and laughed. "What is a Brahmin? What is a non-Brahmin? We stopped thinking about such things long ago.

If you like each other and finally decide to marry, we need not worry about caste."

"I belong to the Coimbatore district. I am a Saiva Mudalar*." That is what Ardhanari had told them. Having said this on some occasion out of snobbish fear, he was unable to withdraw it afterwards. He was ashamed to own the truth about his caste. At Delhi a few knew but in Bangalore nobody knew his antecedents.

"What is Pankaja's wish?" asked Ardhanari.

"Pankaja seems to like you. Her replies to my questions show that she is willing."

"Is it not proper that I should ask her and find out for myself?" asked Ardhanari.

"Yes," said Govinda Rao.

Thus the affair was put off. He resolved that he would tell Pankaja the truth, whatever might happen. But later his resolution failed.

"Why should I go out of my way to tell her this? If I do, Govinda Rao and Pankaja will both hate me. They say that they do not mind caste distinctions. But yet if they come to know that I am a pariah, they will never give their consent. Besides I shall be considered a liar," he thought within himself.

Next day he thought the matter over again and went to Govinda Rao's house intending to disclose the truth. But, again, on the way he debated within himself, "When we two love each other, what reason is there to consider this caste question? Why should we give any quarter to this injustice? Who created caste? Is it not all a lie? Why should I make so much of it and speak to her about it? Why should I speak to her about it and spoil the whole business? They have told me distinctly that they do not care about caste. Why then should I refer to it at all?" He made up his mind to suppress the truth.

"Pankaja, do you really like me? Shall we get married and live together?" he asked.

"But do you want to?" said Pankaja.

* * *

Ardhanari's father, Muniappan, his brother Ranga and mother Kuppayee, all lived in the cheri or pariah quarters of the village Kokkolai. Both while at Delhi and at Bangalore, Ardhanari used to send them twenty rupees regularly

every month. It was a princely allowance to them, and they lived on it very happily. They did not know what their son was earning, but twenty rupees a month seemed a great fortune to them. Unfortunately, Muniappan had the drink habit. When he began to get money regularly every month, his drinking became worse. Ranga did not like this, but could not prevent it. He was a teacher in a village school and was unmarried. When his mother pressed him to find a wife, he would say, "Not now, wait for some time more," and always put off the matter.

Ardhanari, after his transfer to Bangalore, used to visit his people twice a year. When he found his father addicted to drink, he felt ashamed beyond measure. He could not bear the dirt and untidiness of the house. He would stay there only a day or two and then return as soon as possible.

"We will go with you, Ardhanari," his father would say whenever Ardhanari got ready to return to Bangalore.

"No indeed. If they see you with me, they will dismiss me," Ardhanari would reply.

"Yes, father, we people should not go there," Ranga would say.

Because he sent them money regularly, they would not argue much more about it. Thus it went on for some time.

Ardhanari thought it would be best for him to go somewhere far in the north again, once he was married.

"Though they are very kind to me, if they know that I am a pariah, things would certainly go wrong. Even supposing they do not mind, yet when they see the life and habits of my father and my people, Pankaja would certainly be disgusted. She would not even look at me afterwards," Ardhanari would talk to himself in this strain again and again, and further strengthen his resolve to hide the truth. He decided to marry as soon as possible and go away to some place in the north. He wrote letters to the directors of the company he served and asked to be transferred to some other mill in North India.

One day Pankaja quite unexpectedly said, "Ardhanari, I want very much to see your mother. We have both decided that you should take leave for a week and we should all three go and visit Coimbatore, Ootacamund

and other places. What do you say?"

Govinda Rao also said, "There is not much work in the office now. The first week of next month will suit us all very well."

Ardhanari's heart beat fast. "Oh yes, we can do that. But I have a letter today that there is a severe epidemic of cholera in our village," he said.

Pankaja was all anxiety on hearing this, "Cholera! Have you asked your people to move elsewhere? Why not ask them to come over here?" she said.

"I was just thinking of doing so," said Ardhanari.

After three days Ardhanari got a letter from Ranga.

"Blessings to small brother Ardhanari.

"There is severe cholera here. There have been many deaths. We are afraid. Father continues as before. He does not listen to our advice. The money that you sent this month is all spent. If you can send us thirty rupees we think of locking up the house and going to Salem to stay there till this fear of cholera is over.

Yours affectionately,

Ranga."

Ardhanari was surprised and shocked. "What is the meaning of this? What I said in deceit has turned out true. God is trying me, perhaps," said he to himself and was undecided as to what he should do. He then thought he would send the money next day.

Ardhanari got no sleep that night.

Bad thoughts, shameful thoughts kept stirring in his mind. Whenever he thought of his father, he felt disgust. The wish often arose in his mind that his father would die of cholera and relieve him of all this misery. Next moment, he would censure himself for this thought. He tossed restlessly on his bed all night and in the morning he took a cold bath. The postman brought letters. As he had expected, there was another letter from his village. With trembling hands, he opened it and read:

"Father is suffering from cholera. We are greatly afraid. Mariayee must save us! We have not a pie⁺ with us. — Ranga."

When he read the letter Ardhanari's face grew dark. He remained seated in his chair for

quite a long time. He did not send any money that day.

Nor did he send any money the next day.

"How is cholera in your village?" asked Pankaja.

"Still very bad, I'm afraid," said Ardhanari.

"Is there enough sugar in the coffee?" asked Govinda Rao.

"Oh yes! It is very good," said Ardhanari.

When he returned home there was a letter waiting for him.

"Mother too has cholera symptoms. You have not sent us any money. We are helpless. Come at once — Ranga."

Ardhanari sent no money that day either. He had turned his heart into stone. "This disgraceful feature of my life will now disappear for ever. This release looks like God's kindness to me. There is no Dharma or justice higher than His will. Why should I try to circumvent it? If father and mother die, there will then be nothing left to prevent my marriage with Pankaja."

Suddenly, "Tut! Tut! What a sinful thought, you wicked man," someone appeared to reprimand him. When he turned his head round he saw Pankaja standing behind him. He was alarmed that his secret was out. Then his mind grew clear again. No one had spoken. It was just an illusion of his mind.

"How did you come in without making any sound?" he asked.

Pankaja laughed, "I knocked at the door three times and then entered. You are worried about something, so you did not hear me come," she said.

"I must go to my village. It appears the cholera is worse there now. My father and mother are there and I must make some arrangements for them," he said.

"Yes, that should have been done long ago. If you go there now, you must be very careful. You must neither eat nor drink while you are there," she said.

Ardhanari left for Salem the same night. But instead of going straight to Kokkalai, he delayed on the way, and only reached the village after four days. His mother was already dead and poor Ranga had followed her.

Only his drunkard father had escaped and was alive and well.

"Please take me to Bangalore. What shall I do here after this?" he begged Ardhanari. Ardhanari would not hear of it. He was adamant. "I will send you enough money. You must remain here. Do not ask to come with me, for I cannot take you," he said. Father entreated son like a helpless child.

"I can't stay here," he sobbed. Ardhanari refused to be moved by this weeping. "How can I give up Pankaja?" he said to himself and would not listen to his father's lamentations. Next day he placed a ten-rupee note in his father's hand and left for Salem.

"Alas! What have I done! I have killed my mother and brother. Why did I do this? Is there another villain like me in this world? How can I forsake my father like this? What shall I tell Pankaja?"

Immersed in such thoughts, he could not sleep in the train. When he arrived at Bangalore, he walked, in a dazed manner, the whole way to his house. There he bolted the door and lay down. He did not send word to Govinda Rao or Pankaja about his return, nor did he go to the office.

The same night he took his luggage and again went to the railway station and bought a ticket for Salem.

At Salem, he heard that an Adidravida (untouchable) had drowned himself in a well at Kokkalai. When he got to Kokkalai, he learned that the man was his own father.

Some one said that they were holding an inquest at the police station over Muniappan the drunkard. He did not go there but, unnoticed by any one, returned to Salem and took train there to Bangalore.

"Pankaja, you must try to forget me," said Ardhanari.

"I shall do that afterwards. Tell me the news from Salem," said Pankaja.

"They are all dead. They are dead because I did not do what I should have done. I have lost all interest in life now. I am going to resign my job and go to my village. Please forget me," he said.

She looked at him two or three times. Then she got alarmed and ran to tell her brother.

Ardhanari had fever. At first the doctor said it was typhoid, then he said it was brain-fever. He had to stay in bed for over a month. Govinda Rao and Pankaja remained at his bedside without rest till, after the fourth week, the fever came down.

"There is no more cause for anxiety," said the doctor. Very soon he was well enough to sit up in bed.

"I am a pariah, a sinner. I am really an untouchable, a liar. I renounce marriage. For God's sake forget me," said Ardhanari.

Pankaja laughed. "What do I care what caste you are? Why should we part from each other?" she said, trying to soothe him.

Ardhanari did not agree. "You do not mind my caste, I know. But I am a murderer. I have killed my father and mother," he said and told them the whole tale.

When he was quite well, he resigned his job and returned to Kokkalai. He is now the 'Samiar' or ascetic who conducts the school in the Mariamman Temple.

Reproduced from C. Rajagopalachari's book, "The Fatal Cart," by kind permission of the publishers, "The Hindustan Times," New Delhi.

*A vegetarian high caste non-Brahmin.

+Small Indian coin, worth approximately one-fourth of a farthing.

VIET-NAM *Wants* *Freedom and Peace*

Throughout the war, whilst the French in Vietnam and some Vietnamese opportunists beguiled by Japanese propaganda were cooperating with the occupants, the nationalists inside and outside the country did their utmost to help the Allies and to put a spanner in the wheels of Japanese military machinery.

In August 1945, the Asia of the Rising Sun crumbled and the Vietnam nationalists proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Emperor Bao Dai abdicated with good grace. A sincere patriot, Ho Chi Minh,

who has an eventful past of revolutionary activities, and who enjoys the unanimous respect of the people, became President of the First Republic in Vietnam's four thousand years of history.

The Allied armies moved in to dispose of the Japanese. In the South of the 16th parallel, the British, fearing disastrous repercussions in their Asiatic Empire, allowed the French in to depose the Nationalists. In the North, the Chinese were more concerned with the material advantages of their position than with politics and followed, as benevolent spectators, the evolution of Vietnam self-rule. When the time came for them to withdraw, the French saw no other alternative but to sign a Preliminary Convention recognizing Vietnam as a free state with its own Parliament, army and finances, in exchange for Vietnam's agreement to occupation by 15,000 French troops, in some defined areas.

If the status of a free state was something of a step forward for Vietnam, its unity was unsettled by the Provisional Treaty. As the control of the southern province, Cochin China, was in the hands of the French, they were understandably reluctant to hand it back to Vietnam and a proviso, by which a referendum was to be held to decide the question, was the formula of compromise. But it was not long to be mooted in a Preparatory Conference at Dalat in April-May, 1946. The Vietnam conception of free status, with its commitments and privileges, was radically different from the French, which was much more limited in scope and implications. The Cochin China issue proved an insurmountable stumbling block. The two delegates dispersed without reaching any satisfactory solution except on cultural, economic and customs problems. In the meantime, the Nationalist guerrillas in Cochin China continued sporadic warfare with French troops.

In June, 1946, as a Vietnam Delegation was on its way to France for final talks, Admiral d'Argenlieu, French High Commissioner for Indochina, proclaimed a Provisional autonomous Republic of Cochin China with a wealthy rice merchant, Dr. Thinh at its head. By this manoeuvre, the French colonialists showed their hand. However, the Franco-Vietnamese Conference opened on July 9th, 1946. Its tasks were tremendous, and the cleavage between the French views and the Vietnamese ones was

wider than ever. Cochin China came up as the first subject, but the French delegates put it off deliberately. Procrastination is not the way to solve problems. Sterile discussions were raised on Vietnam diplomatic representation, Indochinese Federation and Federal Defence.

On August 1st, 1946, Admiral d'Argenlieu called a separate meeting at Dalat, in which representatives from Cochin China, South Annam, Laos and Cambodia could state their views on the Indochinese Federation. The fact that Indochina had been granted autonomous rule and that she was summoned to a conference to work out her own status within the Indochinese Federation deprived the Fontainebleau parley of its main object, which was precisely the reason why the Vietnam Delegation asked for a *sine die* of the conversations. Many attempts to resume the parley were fruitless, and just before the Vietnam envoys left Paris, Vietnam's President, then a guest of the French Government, concluded with M. Moutet, France's Colonial Minister, a *modus vivendi* on September 14th, 1946.

The bone of contention, Cochin China, was untouched. An independent consular representation for Vietnam in the neighbour states, the safeguard of France's cultural and economic interests, a customs union and a federal currency were all that resulted from the negotiations between the two statesmen. And even the agreements that they had elaborated, had to be implemented by mixed commissions to be appointed in Indochina. Cessation of hostilities in Cochin China had to come into effect on October 31st, with a view to the creation of a favourable atmosphere for further dealings. The cease-fire order was given and carried out at once by the Nationalists in Cochin China. Prospects of a better understanding seemed very bright for the short spell of two weeks, during which, nevertheless, the provided mixed commissions only existed on paper. On November 19th, 1946, sudden clashes occurred between French and Vietnamese troops. The creation by the French of a Customs House to check Vietnam foreign trade through the port of Haiphong, was at the bottom of the conflict. Patient negotiations of a mixed liaison body nearly brought about a truce on November 23rd, though in the meantime, a new move of the French troops at Langson, a strategic locality in Tonkin, provoked a reaction from the

Continued on Page 13, Col 2.

PROFILE

VISCOUNT MOUNTBATTEN

By BRIGADIER MICHAEL WARDELL

The nomination of Viscount Mountbatten, K.G., as Governor-General of India is an expression of faith by its people in the joint policy of the two countries and a mark of confidence in the man himself.

For him it is the culmination of a career devoted to the service of his country and to the ideal of political freedom.

In his brief and brilliant life he has never failed to give evidence of his unbounded belief in this principle which was clearly shown by his friendly and courteous negotiations with the late Aung San and his followers after the overwhelming victory of Burma in 1945.

Since his appointment as the last Viceroy of India he has earned the respect alike of the Indian and British peoples by his honourable qualities of wisdom and tolerance.

It is remarkable that he has won the highest renown in the councils of war and peace at the age of 47.

He completed his tasks as Supreme Allied Commander, South East Asia, when he was still 45. He had commanded for two years the famous XIVth Army, numbering a million men predominantly Indian, a great fleet of warships, and an international force of aircraft. At the height of their might, he had swept the Japanese out of Burma, leaving 200,000 of their dead behind them. He had planned the final "triphibious" assault on Malaya, and taken the surrender of the Japanese forces at Singapore when they had capitulated on the eve of the attack. He had administered as pro-consul an area of 6½ million square miles with a population of 128 million people of different races, ravaged with discord, disease, and starvation. He had thrown in the whole of his powers to bring about a reconciliation between Dutch and Indonesians, French and Annamese.

This remarkable record had been achieved after an already spectacular war career. During the first twenty-one months of the war he had led the fifth Destroyer Flotilla from his flotilla leader Kelly, and become a legendary figure whose exploits thrilled the world. Time after time he escaped death by a miracle. The Kelly was blown up by a mine, torpedoed by the Germans, lashed by the sea until her plates buckled and the soles of the officers boots left footprints on the wardroom ceiling. Finally she was sunk on May 23rd, 1941, during the battle of Crete by twenty-four German dive-



bombers. She turned over at full speed with her guns still firing as she sank. The crew were literally washed overboard, and fewer than half survived the sinking and the subsequent machine-gunning.

Lord Mountbatten's next command was the aircraft carrier H.M.S. ILLUSTRIOUS in 1941. Later in the same year Mr. Churchill appointed him Chief of Combined Operations. The spectacular and inspiring commando raids which his command undertook were only a minor part of the work of Combined Operations. Its main object was to explore and develop a technique of amphibious warfare and raise and train a large amphibious force.

The success of his work in Combined Operations is shown by an historic signal. Seven days after the successful Normandy landing this message was despatched to Admiral Mountbatten signed by Winston Churchill, by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, the three United States Chiefs of Staff and Field-Marshal Smuts. It thanked him for the vital part Combined Operations had played in making the invasion of Europe possible.

Grandson of Queen Victoria, son of H.R.H. Admiral of the Fleet Prince Louis of Battenburg, created first Marquess of Milford Haven, Lord Mountbatten married in 1922 Edwina, daughter of Lord Mount Temple.

He was born to a tradition of service, and can be relied upon faithfully and unsparingly to apply his energies to the service of India.

EDUCATION

by

S. GOSWAMI, M.A.

This article is reprinted from Mr. Suka-deva Goswami's book, "Development of India", which has recently been published by Topical Books, and which will be reviewed in a future issue. The suggestions made in the article provide a good basis for discussion on educational development in Free India.

EDITORS

Our present system of education is not only confined to a small percentage of the population, but it is also alien to us. Studying of foreign languages and getting the best of foreign culture are all very well, but when it comes to the question of acquiring even rudimentary knowledge through the medium of a foreign language, progress is definitely retarded. The study of Shakespeare is most admirable, but not at the expense of Kalidas.

Vedic philosophy can provide us a better background to the study of philosophy in general than having to start with Plato, Descartes, Berkeley, Locke and Hume, and then go back to Vedic philosophy. Under our present system of education, we devote so much of our early life in trying to acquire something which is entirely foreign, that often we fail to assimilate the beauty of our own culture.

True, our Universities turn out graduates in fair numbers, even compared to countries where education is compulsory, but the biggest portion of these graduates are fit only for clerical jobs.

The whole system of our present University education needs revising. To give a concrete example—we study Logic for two years, whereas ten or twelve lectures of fifty minutes each covers the whole field of deductive and inductive logic in an English University.

Naturally the whole changeover to a more suitable system of education is bound to take a few years, but an immediate start should be made.

A Central board of education for the whole of India, should be appointed. Under its control there should be Provincial boards, and under these again, District boards. The latter should be composed of equal numbers of Hindus and Moslems, except in those districts which

are entirely populated by one community. One of the functions of the central board should be to select books, to get the necessary books written and to arrange for translations of foreign books.

With scientific subjects, one of the difficulties will be to find equivalent words in an Indian language, but the difficulty can be overcome by absorbing the foreign technical terms into our own language and inserting them into our dictionaries.

The solution of higher educational problems alone would not make us a literate nation. We have got to solve the problem of mass education. Primary education should be compulsory, and along with it is our golden opportunity to introduce one language for the whole of India.

Without disturbing the present structure of provincial languages, we can skilfully introduce a universal Indian language. Let each province retain its own tongue, but in place of English, we should teach all our boys and girls one common Indian language. The letters of the Hindustani alphabet should be reduced to a minimum, and simple text books should be written.

Young graduates should be trained by the Central board for a few months, and then sent out to the villages in two's (preferably one Moslem and one from any of the other communities) to start schools. In the initial stage it would be necessary to group several villages together, according to their size and proximity. Temples and Mosques can be utilized for schools. Where the Maulavi attached to the Mosque and the Temple Brahmin are of a cultured type, only one other teacher will be required.

Anyone who has studied our village life at close quarters will agree that the villagers always take their problems to any educated person that may be available, irrespective of his religion. The idea of sending two teachers is mainly to set an example to the villagers of how a Hindu and a Moslem can work together. Another reason for sending two graduates out together is that they can provide companionship for each other. In the past, it has been the tendency of educated people to leave the villages, which could not provide them with the amenities to which they were accustomed in student life, and to migrate to the towns. Thus a lone teacher would find life tedious without a companion of similar education.

Promotion of teachers should be rapid and based entirely on the progress they show amongst the villagers. The judging for promotion of the teachers should be done by the District Board of another district, thus stamping out any chance of favouritism at its very root.

From the start, arrangements should be made for the poor children to get a solid meal in school. Hungry children can hardly study. There should also be periodic medical examination of the young children.

Boys and girls should attend the same schools for primary education. Secondary education should be free. At the moment, the secondary education course covers eight years. If this is kept in the same form, co-education should continue for the first four years, but thereafter the boys and girls should be separated until after matriculation. Universities should of course be co-educational.

For four years before matriculation, boys should have a part curriculum of technical studies such as commerce, agriculture, carpentry, house-building, engineering and first aid, and in the last two years sex-education and physical training should be given.

For girls, the four years before matriculation should include such subjects as cooking, weaving, knitting, sanitation, housekeeping, midwifery, beauty culture and commerce. Sexual science and physical culture should be included in the last two years.

For both boys and girls, two of these technical subjects (apart from sex and physical culture) should be compulsory when taking matriculation.

If we want to have a healthy nation, it is vitally important to cut out hypocrisy and instruct our young people in sex and hygiene.

Whilst discussing primary and secondary education for our youth, we must not overlook the importance of adult education. Some simplified form must be adopted, such as reading and writing, and easy lectures on such subjects as agriculture, hygiene, etc.

Regarding university education, we shall have to change our present tactics considerably. In order to get a large number of qualified people within a few years, the graduation course should be confined to two subjects only,

so that the student gets a considerable opportunity to learn his subjects thoroughly in the four years.

Post-graduate courses should be confined only to those students who show proficiency in their graduation course.

Research centres should be established for every conceivable subject. Particular stress should be given to agriculture, geology, chemistry and physics.

Anything we can achieve in the research field should be made available to humanity at large. We cannot segregate knowledge, whether it be the splitting of the atom, or the development of the cosmic ray; what has been discovered by a group of scientists in one country is inevitably found by the others. Instead of a nation stupidly trying to monopolise certain ideas, whilst other nations' scientists are working along the same lines, surely it would benefit humanity at large, and thus each individual nation, if the world's scientists could pool their work and each have the benefit of the others knowledge.

VIET-NAM WANTS FREEDOM AND PEACE

(Continued from Page 10, Col. 2)

Vietnamese. Fresh fighting flared up after General Morlière, acting French High Commissioner in Tonkin, received a cable from General Valluy, acting High Commissioner for Indochina and then in duty at Saigon, to put down the "insurgents" mercilessly. Uneasy, and very short, breaks gave the antagonists breathing space, and on December 19th the unrest exploded throughout Hanoi and the main towns. Charging the Vietnamese with a "treacherous attack" — the eternal pretext of the wolf against the lamb — the French made use of all the most destructive weapons at their disposal to strafe the Nationalists. Reinforcements were continuously rushed to their former colony, and priority for troop transport was granted, to the detriment of food imports and economic reconstruction at home. Meanwhile the President of the Vietnam Government indefatigably sent out peace offers which were deliberately disregarded.

When M. Leon Blum, the famous Socialist leader assumed power, he dispatched M. Moutet and General Leclerc to investigate the crisis. M. Moutet was magnificently received at Saigon, by the successor to Dr. Thinh who had committed suicide because, according to his own confession, he was tired of being a French puppet. After a two-day stay, the French Minister delivered an inflammatory speech in which he uttered his accusations of Vietnam's responsibility. Preceded to Hanoi by Admiral d'Argenlieu, M. Moutet spent another couple of days there. Ho Chi Minh broadcast an invitation to him for a meeting, which M. Moutet considered as not formal enough to be given serious consideration.

His report to the Government, after his return to Paris, was not made public. But his report to the Comité Directeur of the Socialist party, to which he belongs, encountered a sharp opposition from M. Leon Boutbien, a member of the Comité, who accompanied him as his assistant on his extraordinary mission to Indochina.

Rumours persistently circulated that Admiral d'Argenlieu was to be replaced as High Commissioner for Indochina. But at the beginning of February, Cochinchina was formally proclaimed a free state member of the Indochinese Federation and the French Union. Legislation pending the election of a National Assembly through universal suffrage, was entrusted to the French-installed provisional government and a council appointed by the French authorities in Indochina, made up of French officials. Once more the French government lent itself to a policy that it seemed not to approve of openly. The latest statement from M. Moutet made it plain that a policy of force must be pursued, though no opportunity of negotiations would be missed. President Ho Chi Minh, in another appeal, put forward the conditions for the resumption of negotiations. He asked that French troops take up their positions of the 6th March, 1946, and reasserted the will of the Vietnamese for political independence, and their readiness to resort to France's help in economic and cultural spheres.

A strict wartime censorship was reimposed on press dispatches from Indochina. This only evidenced the seriousness of the crisis, and hinted at the guilty conscience of the French.

On February 8th, 1947, Admiral d'Argenlieu was removed from the High Commissionership,

and M. Bollaert, a figure of the French Resistance, replaced him. General Molière was called back to Paris to report to the Government. Some leakages of his account were strong criticisms of his superiors' handling of the Viet-Nam crisis. It seemed, according to his view, that the large majority of the Cochinchinese, not to speak of the Annamese and the Tonkinese, are in favour of President Ho Chi Minh's Government, negotiations with which is the only alternative left to the French.

Momentous debates were raised in the Chamber of Deputies on Indochina. The vote on military appropriations to carry on the war there provided the antagonistic French parties with a head on clash, which was nothing less than a threat to the Ramadier Cabinet's existence. Internal and external politics prevented the Communists from disapproving openly of the Government in which they took part. By a highly dialectical move, they allowed their Ministers to vote for, and their deputies to vote against, the credit!

M. Bollaert flew to Saigon with very precise instructions from the Government. Some weeks after his arrival, he was presented with a request from the Cochinchinese democratic organizations, asking him to initiate negotiations with Ho Chi Minh's Government. An appeal from President Ho welcomed the new French representative, and proposed to him the opening of conversations on the basis of Viet-Nam independence and unity within the French Union.

On April 25th, near a Cochinchinese town, a French convoy was ambushed and more than 100 persons lost their lives. Following this, 13 out of 14 Annamese newspapers in Saigon, were suspended on the grounds that their unionist propaganda fanned the nationalist feeling into destructive and terroristic action. Only one of them, the official organ, was permitted to continue appearing, newspaper vendors refused to distribute it. A meeting near Hanoi, on May 7th, 1947, between International Red Cross delegates and the Viet-Nam Foreign Minister and Red Cross head gave rise to rumours of a Viet-Nam peace offer. In the meantime, at Hanoi, M. Bollaert delivered a speech in which he confirmed the French Premier's statement in the French Chamber, during the debates on Indochina, that the three Annamite provinces could unite if they chose. M. Bollaert's plenipotentiary, Professor Paul Mus, an expert on Far Eastern civilization,

known for his sympathy toward Viet-Nam, and a good friend of President Ho and Foreign Minister Hoang-Minh-Giam, was reported to have met the two V.N. leaders.

Nothing transpired from the covert negotiations. On May 25th President Ho addressed the French people, over the air, to inform them of his refusal to comply with the French representatives' conditions for cessation of hostilities: that V.N. should turn over all her weapons, and French troops should be free to go everywhere they wished throughout V.N. territory. The conditions were unacceptable, for they would mean submission for Viet-Nam, which wanted a fair truce, in which there would be no victor and no vanquished. President Ho also appealed to the V.N. people to be ready for a long-term war.

M. Bollaert returned to Paris on June 14th, 1947, to report to the Government on his mission. It seems that his action in Viet-Nam has not been approved by a large section of the Cabinet.

It appears that in 6 months of fighting in V.N., French troops have succeeded in getting control of the main centres, whereas the Nationalists are holding the countryside. More than 8,000 French troops have been killed in very destructive guerilla warfare. Untold suffering is being visited on the Viet-Nam people and the nationalists seem to be determined to leave behind them nothing but ashes and ruins on a barren soil where living will be impossible.

To settle the V.N. issue by means of force, as France is doing, costs 100 million francs a day. This heavy strain on her budget only precipitates economic bankruptcy. The time has come for her to settle the quarrel by peaceful means if she does not want to sap, at its very foundations, the French Union; the French Commonwealth of Nations that she intends to build. One can build something of this kind, not on hatred and graves, but on mutual understanding and peace.

Paris June 1947,
By a Special Correspondent.

BOOKS

INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES. By Mr. A. C. Gilpin with a foreword by Mr. G. D. H. Cole. (Fabian Publications Ltd.) Price 6d.

In a few pages Mr. Gilpin has given a clear lead for the settlement of the tricky problem of India's sterling balances. He has given adequate reasons for contradicting the points put forward by the advocates of British high finance who would like to see either Britain defaulting or scaling down the sterling debt she owes to India. He has shown at what sacrifice India lent this money to help England. To put it in Mr. Gilpin's own words:

"The sterling balances are seen to be but a poor compensation for the suffering, privation and sacrifice borne by India as part of a war into which she was brought with no prior consultation of her people."

This little booklet is written in a straightforward, simple manner, containing no complicated technicalities, and can be very strongly recommended to the general thinking public.

S. GOSWAMI.

* * *

THE INDIAN IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan (Kitabistan, Allahabad) 596 pp. Rs. 15.

This substantial volume, by one of India's most distinguished scholars and statesmen, is powerful evidence of the unifying influence, irrespective of community, of the Indian national resentment caused by the racial prejudice and colour-bar operative against the Indians of South Africa.

Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, who had already had political and administrative experience, as a delegate to the Round Table Conferences and the Joint Select Committee in London (1930-33) and as an officiating member of the Government of India, in 1940, served as High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa from 1941 to 1945, at a very critical period in South African history.

He had made a deep study of the events linking the two countries from their origins in 1860 before delivering the series of addresses, to South African Europeans and to his own countrymen, which comprise the greater part of this volume. A supplementary chapter is added to bring the story up-to-date (April, 1946). It deals with the controversy over the Land Tenure Act, whose passing by the Union Parliament, at the instance of General Smuts, as Prime Minister, despite the energetic protests of the Government of India led to the withdrawal of Sir Shafa'at's official successor, Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, and to the reference of the South African Indian dispute by the Interim Government to the United Nations last year.

No-one reading these addresses would doubt Sir Shafa'at's diplomatic gifts or the scholarly ability with which he sought to remind his European hearers of their own historical background and cultural development, of the ancient and profound character of the culture of India, and of the creative and fruitful results of co-operation between the two races in the Union. Nor was he less frank with his own countrymen, upon whom he impressed the necessity of unity, patience, faith in their country of origin, loyalty to their country of adoption or birth, and adherence to modern standards of life, rooted in the best of both cultures. In spite of his apparent failure to produce the hoped for results of better relations between the two countries, it will be generally felt that the author rendered a splendid service to them both.

This will be one of the standard books on the subject, and it deserves careful study by statesmen and idealists alike.

H. S. L. POLAK

* * *

RELIGION AND SOCIETY. By Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Allen and Unwin. 10/6.

These lectures, given on a foundation endowed by her father in memory of an Indian girl whose beautiful face forms one of the illustrations in this volume, are five years old. This must be remembered. The author would hardly now speak of Russia's 'friendly co-operation with capitalist countries', or believe Maisky's assertion that 'the Soviet Union defends the right of every nation to choose its

own social form.' We may hope that he would also think differently about the attitude of Great Britain towards India. 'The lust of power, the joy of cruelty, and the pride of dominance' are not characteristic of our countrymen today; I do not think they ever were. And when he speaks of 'growing economic inequality', and ascribes the increase of social services to the 'self-indulgent charity' of the capitalist, such judgments are absurd and unworthy of a serious thinker.

The two greatest political experiments of modern times are both the work of English-speaking nations. The federal republic of the United States is now an assured success, though only at the cost of a terrible civil war. The British Commonwealth of self-governing nations is a still bolder experiment. It aims at being a real League of Nations in being. It is imperilled by the unwillingness of its non-British members to co-operate. May it not be said that this reluctance is at least partly caused by that spirit of jealous and bitter nationalism which Radhakrishnan, with all other wise observers of the crisis in our civilisation, regards as the greatest evil in our time, a danger which threatens the world with universal ruin?

As regards India, we admit our faults. We have trained educated Hindus on the literature of revolt, and at the same time have wounded their self-respect and patriotic pride by treating them as inferiors. But the long association of West and East will not go for nothing. Our thinkers, as Radhakrishnan has shown in his other books, are realising how much we Europeans may learn from India, and the intellectual leaders of India are steeped in English literature. Our language will, I suppose, still be a *lingua franca* in India. Rabindranath Tagore told me that his books are widely read in India outside Bengal, 'of course in English.'

The author, as is well known, is an enthusiastic admirer of Gandhi, and believes in his policy of 'non-violent resistance'. He quotes Bertrand Russell as a supporter of this method. The early Christian Church certainly defeated the pagan empire by passive resistance, and all Christians must sympathise with such an ideal. But recent history has proved that an occupying power has very little difficulty in setting up a Vichy or Quisling government, and in crushing or driving underground all concerted opposition. It is an unhappy truth that modern discoveries have greatly increased the repressive power of governments.

On the religious side, readers of the author's other books will know what he thinks. He might take as his motto that fine sentence from St. Augustine, which is much too liberal for most of our churchmen:

"That which is called Christian religion existed among the ancients and never did not exist, from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh, at which time the religion which already existed began to be called Christianity."

The author thinks that the religion of the Spirit is always and everywhere the same, and that a purified Hinduism and a purified Christianity may and should understand each other. This higher religion is based on what Catholics call the perennial philosophy, a mysticism which transcends rationalism but not reason. As Goethe says, 'man's highest happiness as a thinker is to have fathomed what can be fathomed, and to bow in reverence before the unfathomable.' There is nothing irrational in recognising the limitations of the human understanding, and in interpreting, 'as in a mirror, by means of symbols,' those visions of ultimate reality which are granted to 'soul made spirit,' the inner man of the heart.

DR. W. R. INGE

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THE VEDANTIC BUDDHISM OF THE BUDDHA. *A collection of historical texts translated from the original Pāli and edited by J. G. Jennings, M.A. (Oxon.), C.I.E. Published by Geoffrey Cumberlege for the Oxford University Press, London. 1947. pp. cxvii + 679. 42/- net.*

The title of this work is an unusual and an arresting one. "What," we ask ourselves, "is Vedāntic Buddhism"? We supply the answer in the author's own words. His contention is "that the original core of Gotama's teaching was the doctrine of pure altruism or non-egoism, which has since been overlaid by one making a stronger appeal, namely the Indian dogma of personal salvation through long purgation by transmigration in successive lives." This doctrine, our author contends, did not form part of the original teaching. "Buddha found the doctrine of transmigration prevalent, and he accepted so much of it as declares the endless results of all actions of the individual; but the theory of personal reward and punishment in successive lives is radically

inconsistent with his characteristic doctrine of No Self, or the impermanence of individuality (*sabbe dhammā an-attā*), and with altruism, being in essence individualistic."

How then did he interpret the action of the Law of Karma? "The chain of consequence, the individual's moral responsibility for every action, word, or thought, and the necessity of morality, are assumed in his teaching; to this extent the force of Karma is assumed by him, but the doctrines of lasting personality and of reward and punishment he definitely repudiated. Assuming the common origin and the fundamental unity of all life and spirit, he assumed the unity of the force of Karma upon the living material of the whole world, and the doctrine of Karma taught by him is collective not individual."

It was this doctrine that the Buddha hesitated to teach, for fear that it would not be understood. The doctrine of pure altruism, was, and is, too difficult of acceptance by the world, and that is why, says Mr. Jennings, his message has become so misunderstood and distorted, that quite a different doctrine has taken its place.

But what of the last message that Gotama gave his disciples; how does this accord with the idea of non-personal result of Karmic law? Mr. Jennings tells us that this passage has been wrongly translated. All scholars and students have accepted Rhys Davids translation, "Work out your own salvation with diligence," but, says Mr. Jennings, there is no mention of salvation in the original. The Pali word *sampādetha* means "work (ye)." The teacher says "Our compound nature must (soon) dissolve; (therefore) labour diligently." We may pertinently ask, "Labour for what?" If the individual is only a collection of compounds which will soon dissolve (into nothingness), or will be scattered amongst all other living beings, what is the object of labouring diligently? "What is distinctive of Gotama's teaching," says Mr. Jennings, "is the present attainment of the peace of Nibbana, through the eradication of selfish desire or egoism, by following the Noble Eightfold Path."

We may ask how this is to be attained if the results of Karma are not reaped individually?

The doctrine of Anatta is one of the great problems of Buddhism. Suffice to say here, that what the Buddha meant by it was, that the individual is not summed up in the agglom-

eration of temporal forms which are called the **Skandhas**, but that his real self is of the nature of the One Self, the Universal Atma; and the goal of the individual is conscious union with that One Self. "And when he is free, he knows that he is free, and that he is no more for this world."

That teaching is in accordance with the teachings of the Upanishads. That is Vedānta.

But neither the Buddhist scriptures nor the Upanishads support this doctrine of the non-personal effects of Karma. The whole idea of attainment is based on the teaching that as one sows so does he reap. The whole of the "Dhammapada" is based on it. "By oneself is evil done, by oneself one suffers. By oneself is evil left undone, by oneself one is purified. Purity and impurity are personal concerns: no one can purify another."

And to clinch the argument, we have the Buddha's own statement. "My action is my possession: my action is my inheritance: my action is the womb which bears me: my action is the race to which I belong: my action is my refuge."

The teaching of the Upanishads on Karma is equally clear and definite. They teach that in accordance with the Law of Karma, our actions and thoughts produce results in two ways, firstly as effects in the form of suffering for evil deeds, and happiness for good deeds, and secondly as producing impressions on our minds, the sum total of which forms our character. Also that the next life (in physical incarnation) is determined by our character in the present life. As the **Chandogya Upanishad** puts it: "Those whose conduct has been good will reap a good birth, but those whose conduct has been evil will truly reap an evil birth."

But it must not be inferred that we are upholding an exclusively individualistic interpretation of the operation of Karmic Law. No man lives to himself alone, and his thoughts and deeds do affect those with whom he comes in contact and the psychic community—called in the Mahayana School the **Dharmadhātu**—as a whole. So Buddhism recognises family karma, national karma, racial karma, and so on. Therefore, it is in the interest of the community at large and not for their own welfare **only** that sincere and earnest Buddhists refrain from transgressing the moral laws, and perform meritorious deeds.

We have had to devote so much space to this controversial subject that little is left to

deal with the remainder of the work. A brief description must suffice.

The work consists of 117 pages dealing with Buddhist doctrinal history, the Councils, the author's ideas on the Hinduization of the doctrine, parallelism of the Dhamma and Stoicism, the political, economic and social background, etc. Very interesting and useful material for the student. The second part of 630 pages consists of extracts from the Pali canon, from the post-canonical Nidāna-Katha, with occasional excerpts from Buddhaghosha's Commentaries, and constitutes a complete record of the Life of the Buddha, and the main features of his teachings. The remaining 50 pages consist of a list of all the passages quoted from the Pali books, an Index to all the Pali words used in the extracts (approximately 3000 in number), and an index to all Proper Names, Titles and Modes of Address.

The work can hardly be classed as a notable addition to Buddhist scholarship, but it is a most useful compendium for the student, especially if he is studying Pali, or has already acquired a vocabulary of Buddhist technical terms, for the reason that the Pali equivalents for all technical expressions and terms are given in parentheses.

We criticize the misuse of the word "Mysticism" on page 628, where it is confused with base magic arts; also we protest against the complicated system of indexing that the compiler uses. Here is a specimen: "Svetāmbara sect of the Jains, Ap. G 2 c. § 3 (ii) [1] n." When we have patiently tracked this down we find it refers to Note 9 on page 590.

The paper, printing and binding are excellent: well up to the pre-war standard of the O.U.P.

We have spotted only two printer's errors: p. xxi, line 11, "love" should obviously be "lore," and p. 639 line 4, index reference Ap. 18 should be Ch. 18. Mr. Jennings has devoted the whole of his retirement, some twenty years, to the compiling of this work, and has lost his sight in carrying it to a conclusion.

Doubtless he looks for no personal reward for his altruistic labours, but the present writer sincerely hopes, and believes, that he will have the sympathetic thoughts and good wishes of all students who benefit from the use of his valuable work

ARTHUR C. MARCH

